

The  
American Historical Review

CONTRIBUTIONS OF HERDER TO THE DOCTRINE OF  
NATIONALISM <sup>1a</sup>

I.

NATIONALISM of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may be viewed from two angles. It is more commonly regarded as an historical process which from 1798 to 1919 transformed feudal provinces and petty principalities and polyglot empires into national states; and which was strikingly exemplified in the nineteenth century by the political unifications of Italy, Germany, and the United States, and by the partial disruption of the Ottoman Empire; and in the twentieth century by the acquisition of territorial unity and political independence on the part of subject nationalities of Romanov and Hapsburg realms. But nationalism may also be regarded as an intensification of national feeling and consciousness, both preceding and following the establishment of national states. As such it has involved the elaboration and propagation of a philosophy, a doctrine. To certain aspects of the doctrine of nationalism I address myself here.

There are two main currents of philosophical speculation which meet to form the stream of nationalist doctrine in the nineteenth century. One is the thought which exalts the sovereign lay state and gradually ascribes to it an absolutism more far-reaching than that ascribed by medieval ecclesiastics to the Church. In early modern times such a thought was expressed in the commentaries of students of Roman law, in the historical disquisitions of Bodin, and in the logical syllogisms of Hobbes, but none of these thinkers envisaged the sovereign state as a popular state; to all of them, *l'état c'est le roi*. It remained for Locke, and more sensationably for Rousseau in the eighteenth century, to turn Hobbes on his head and to appropriate the

<sup>1a</sup> This paper was read before the meeting of the American Historical Association at Rochester, Dec. 30, 1926.

Hobbesian "contract" for their notions of popular sovereignty. Thence emerged the thought which prefigured, if it did not guide, the revolutionary events in eighteenth-century America and France. It was the thought of a popular state, but it was still the thought of a sovereign, nay an infallible, state.

A people, then, according to Rousseau, is sovereign. But what is a people? Rousseau himself was a bit vague on this crucial point. Apparently his "people" was not necessarily a nationality; it might be any aggregation of persons who by habit or will constituted his state. Not Rousseau, but Herder, determined that a people is something definite and basic, that it is in fine a cultural nationality. And thereby Herder struck the rock from which has gushed forth ever since a prolific stream of national speculation. This national speculation, in conjunction with the concept of popular sovereignty, has provided the philosophical basis for the doctrine of nationalism.

Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803)<sup>1</sup> was a child of the eighteenth century. Reared in a pious Lutheran home in East Prussia, educated at Königsberg in close personal relationship with Kant, and devoted throughout life to the career of preacher and teacher, first at Riga and then for almost thirty years at Weimar, he was always rational and scientific and humanitarian in the best eighteenth-century meaning of those adjectives. A Lutheran Christian, he reasoned about theology and became a kind of "higher critic" of the Bible. A literary man, he dealt with a wide range of scientific subjects. A classicist, he was not only a humanist but likewise a humanitarian. He was also a herald of romanticism.

It was not surprising that side by side with classicism and rationalism, the eighteenth century should have witnessed the rise of romanticism. The common currency of reports from travellers and missionaries about the unaffected dignity and natural morality of primitive peoples, *les bons sauvages*, afar off, gave impetus at home to the ascription of like purity of character and conduct to the ancestors of existing European peoples;<sup>2</sup> and fanciful descriptions of the natural beauties of lake and forest in the New World nicely antedated the Old World's discovery of the natural beauties of Swiss scenery. Both Rousseau and Herder romantically glorified the beauties of nature and the inherent goodness of peoples in a state

<sup>1</sup> The best account of Herder's life is Rudolf Haym, *Herder nach seinem Leben und seinen Werken* (two vols., 1877). The best in English, though far below Haym's account in detail and insight, is H. W. Nevins, *A Sketch of Herder and his Times* (1884). The most interesting collection of Herder's correspondence is Heinrich Düntzner and F. G. von Herder, *Aus Herders Nachlass* (two vols., 1857).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Grundmann, *Die Geographischen und Völkerkundlichen Quellen und Anschauungen in Herders Ideen zur Geschichte der Menschheit* (1900).

of nature. In so doing they were as much the products of their age as were Voltaire and Lessing. That Herder was even more of a romanticist than Rousseau is traceable in part to the greater influence which the emotional wave of religious Pietism had on German Protestants than on French Catholics and free-thinkers, and in part to peculiar circumstances of Herder's early life. Herder was younger than Rousseau and shared the enthusiasm of his own master, Kant, for the Genevese philosopher. "Come and be my guide, O Rousseau!" wrote the impressionable Herder while he was yet a student at Königsberg.<sup>3</sup> Besides, while Herder was at the university, he fell under the spell of J. G. Hamann, the "Magus of the North", pietist and mystic, theologian and linguist. Through Hamann Herder learned English and was led to esteem Shakespeare and Ossian and Percy's *Reliques*; from Hamann, too, Herder acquired his lifelong interest in Oriental languages and literatures.<sup>4</sup> And finally, as a formative influence upon Herder, should be mentioned the fact that his first teaching and preaching were done among the German colony in the city of Riga. His five years' sojourn on Russian soil (from 1764 to 1769) brought to his mind contrasts between the Teutonic and Slavic peoples and supplied him with material and desire for later literary excursions into folk-literature, folk-customs, and folk-religion—the very stuff of romanticism.

With such a background, Herder was not only a child of the eighteenth century but also a father of the nineteenth century. In the most famous of his writings he says that "Patriotism and Enlightenment are the two poles round which all the moral culture of mankind revolves",<sup>5</sup> and here speaks a voice from two centuries. Its "Enlightenment" is the conventional enlightenment of the eighteenth century, but its "Patriotism" is not the eighteenth-century plaster replica of antique city patriotism; it is the brand-new marble statue of the national patriotism which is the idol of the nineteenth century.

## II.

To select and present in brief compass what is most typical of Herder's notions of nationality is a difficult undertaking. By no

<sup>3</sup> J. G. von Herder's *Lebensbild*, ed. E. G. von Herder (1846), vol. I., pt. I., p. 252. Cf. Otto Hänsel, *Der Einfluss Rousseaus auf die Philosophisch-Pädagogischen Anschauungen Herders* (1902).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Otto Hoffmann (ed.), *Herders Briefen an Johann Georg Hamann* (1889).

<sup>5</sup> *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, in *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, XIV. 121. Of this famous work there is an English translation by T. Churchill, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man* (two vols., 1800, 1803), which is good enough for general purposes but requires careful checking with the original in certain respects, notably in the rendering of *Volk*, *Nation*, etc.

stretch of the imagination can he be considered the formulator of a clear, concise doctrine on any subject, least of all perhaps on nationalism. It is not that he wrote too little, but rather that he wrote too much. His writings, exclusive of innumerable personal letters, fill thirty-two volumes,<sup>6</sup> and comprise essays, treatises, dialogues, sermons, epistles, poems, addresses, book-reviews. He is always diffuse, and he ranges from universal history and esthetic theory to Hebrew poetry, sources of the New Testament, origin of language, northern archaeology, contemporary education, modern German literature, and on to lyric flights in prose and verse. His ever wandering, ever fertile mind can not for any length of time restrict itself to one idea; it catches glimpses of many subjects but masters none completely. During his whole life Herder did not create one finished masterpiece. Even his principal work, his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, is not a systematic treatise but, as the title indicates, a collection of materials.

And yet, without posing as a dogmatist, without attempting to hedge about his every utterance with barriers of impenetrable logic or to freight his words with political significance, Herder managed to make important contributions to the cultural and even to the political thought of succeeding generations. The most impressive contribution he made was in so transfiguring the word *Volk* that it became the radiation-point in the nineteenth century for the new gospel of nationalism.<sup>7</sup>

Upon the fact of folk-peculiarities in contemporary society and in history is based the whole of Herder's "Ideas for a Philosophy of the History of Mankind". He saw the world about him divided into a number of nations "wonderfully separated . . . not only by woods and mountains, seas and deserts, rivers and climates, but more particularly by languages, inclinations, and characters".<sup>8</sup> And he might have added, "and by outward appearances and customs", for he went on to delineate in considerable detail all manner of differences that had been observed between various peoples. That some of these differences later proved apocryphal did not impair Herder's main contention that physical qualities and mental habits tended to differ widely as between national groups. This basic contention was

<sup>6</sup> Thirty-three, including index. I refer to the standard edition, that of Bernhard Suphan, *Herders Sämmtliche Werke* (Berlin, 1877-1913). All references in this essay to Herder's writings are to Suphan's edition.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Arthur Jonetz, *Ueber Herders Nationale Gesinnung* (1895), and G. R. Simpson, *Herder's Conception of Das Volk* (1921). Herder was the first German writer, so far as I know, who employed the word *Nationalismus* (*Sämmtliche Werke*, XX. 234).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 341. Herder uses the words *Volk* and *Nation* interchangeably.



hinted at in his earliest writings at Riga;<sup>9</sup> it was developed in his *Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit*, published in 1774;<sup>10</sup> and it appeared and reappeared in all types of his literary activity. It was his constant conviction. In the *Ideen* of 1784 he simply assumed it and proceeded to devote two volumes to explanation of why there were national differences.<sup>11</sup>

Herder denies that national differences can be attributed to differences of race. To him, mankind is biologically one; he detests the very word "race";<sup>12</sup> and he would have had little patience with Virey, Nott and Gliddon, Gobineau, Madison Grant, and Lothrop Stoddard. "Man originates from and in one species [*Geschlecht*]", he declared.<sup>13</sup> "The New Zealand cannibal and a Fénelon, a Newton and the wretched Pesheray are all creatures of one and the same species [*Gattung*]." <sup>14</sup> Not race but environment, not inherited blood but inherited culture, makes and emphasizes national differences. This is Herder's capital idea. And by environment he means (1) physical geography, especially climate, (2) historical development, and (3) folk-character or folk-personality.

The influence of physical geography Herder puts first among the differentiating factors of environment.<sup>15</sup>

Nature [he says] has sketched with mountain-ranges which she fashioned and with streams which she caused to flow from them the rough but substantial outline of the whole history of man. . . . One height produced nations of hunters, thus supporting and rendering necessary a savage state; another, more extended and mild, afforded a field to shepherd peoples and supplied them with tame animals; a third made agriculture easy and needful; while a fourth led to fishing and navigation and at length to trade. The structure of the earth, in its natural variety and diversity, rendered all such distinguishing conditions inescapable. . . . Seas, mountain-ranges, and rivers are the most natural boundaries not only of lands but also of peoples, customs, languages, and empires, and they have been, even in the greatest revolutions in human affairs, the directing lines or limits of world-history. If otherwise mountains had arisen, rivers flowed, or coasts trended, then how very different would mankind have scattered over this tilting-place of nations.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Especially *Ueber den Fleiss in mehreren Gelehrten Sprachen* (1764), *Haben wir noch jetzt das Publicum und Vaterland der Alten* (1765), and *Ueber die Neuere Deutsche Litteratur, Fragmente* (1766-1768). *Sämmtliche Werke*, vols. I. and II.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. V.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, vols. XIII. and XIV.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 257.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. 84.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 147. Cf. *idem*, pp. 257-258.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. F. W. Paul Lehmann, *Herder in seiner Bedeutung für die Geographie* (1883).

<sup>16</sup> *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 37-38. Cf. XIV. 92-93.

Peculiarities of climate and physical geography originally differentiate one human group from another, but the differentiation may be enhanced by subsequent historical development, particularly by tradition and education within and by contacts without. Three of the chapter-headings in the *Ideen* read as follows:<sup>17</sup> "The feelings and inclinations of men are everywhere conformable to their organization and the circumstances in which they live, but they are everywhere swayed by custom and by opinion"; "The happiness of men is in all places an individual good, and consequently it is in all places climatic and organic and also the offspring of use, tradition, and custom"; "Ready as man is to imagine he produces everything from himself, he is nevertheless dependent on others for the development of his faculties". Tradition is here used synonymously with education, and "all education", the author explains, "must spring from imitation and exercise, by means of which the model passes into the copy".<sup>18</sup> Every nation has its distinctive manner of thinking and acting, founded on its own internal tradition.<sup>19</sup> The more secluded a given nation is, the stronger becomes its internal tradition. "A secluded people, which dwells among mountains far from the sea-coast and from intercourse with other nations, which derives its knowledge from a single place, and, in proportion as this has been more early received, fixes it more firmly by brazen laws, such a nation may acquire great distinctiveness of character and long retain it, but", Herder adds, "this confined backwardness will be far from giving such a nation that useful versatility which can be gained only by active competition with other nations."<sup>20</sup> In Herder's view, historical development of most nationalities has been conditioned both frequently and favorably by what later anthropologists were to term "cultural diffusion", though Herder, true to his first principle of geographic determinism, insisted that the adoption of foreign manners and customs must always be according to "the relation of the land from which they go to the land in which they come and operate".<sup>21</sup>

Because of climatic differences and through varying historical development, every nation, every folk, acquires a character, a personality. The folk-character of Herder is not quite so mysterious and mystical as Hegel's *Geist* nor quite so metaphysical as Le Bon's "National Soul", but I doubt whether, in the multitudinous studies

<sup>17</sup> Chapters IV., V., and VI. of Book VIII. *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 319-353.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 347.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. 125.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. 92.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 37.

which have been made of Herder, sufficient attention has been paid to the abiding influence of his folk-character upon social psychologists in general and upon national psychologists in particular. To Herder, folk-character is the national counterpart of the monad which Leibnitz conceived to be the controlling element in individual personality. Everywhere Herder sees folk-character at work but nowhere does he exactly define it. He is content to observe that it is "singular, wonderful, inexplicable, ineradicable, and as ancient as the nation",<sup>22</sup> and to suggest rather vaguely and variously that it is the result of "human powers" and that it is "national human power" itself. He has a theory, however, as to how it originated. "Since the individual man can not well exist by himself, a higher maximum of co-operating powers forms itself with every society."<sup>23</sup> And though it is created by environmental forces of time and place, climate and tradition, it gets into the blood, as it were, and may survive in individual members of a nationality for a goodly number of generations after they have left the environment which created it.

Active human powers [says Herder] are the springs of human history, and, as man originates from and in one race, so his body, education, and mode of thinking are genetic. Hence that striking national character, which, deeply imprinted on the most ancient peoples, is unequivocally displayed in all their operations on the earth. As the mineral water derives its component parts, its operative power, and its flavor from the soil through which it flows, so the ancient character of peoples arose from the family features, the climate, the way of life and education, the early actions and employments, that were peculiar to them. The manners of the fathers took deep root and became the internal prototype of the descendants. The mode of thinking of the Jews, which is best known to us from their writings and actions, may serve as an example: both in the land of their fathers and in the midst of other nations they remain as they were, and even when mixed with other peoples they may be distinguished for some generations onward. It was and is the same with all other peoples of antiquity—Egyptians, Chinese, Arabs, Hindus, etc. The more secluded they lived, nay frequently the more they were oppressed, the more their character was confirmed, so that, if every one of these nations had remained in its place, the earth might have been regarded as a garden where in one plot one human national plant, in another, another, bloomed in its proper form and nature, where in this corner one kind of national animal, in that, another, pursued its course according to its instincts and character.<sup>24</sup>

Herder recognizes that in the long run a change of environment will effect a change of folk-character, but descendants of emigrants for several generations are far more likely to exemplify the per-

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. 38.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. 227.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. 84.

sonality of the people they have left than to assume the character of the nation among whom they have settled. "In India, the great market-place of commercial nations", he remarks, "the Arab and the Chinese, the Turk and the Persian, the Christian and the Jew, the negro and the Malay, the Japanese and the Gentoo, are clearly distinguishable, and thus it happens that on the most distant shores everyone bears the character of his native habitat and folkway of life."<sup>25</sup> The author is convinced that "the character of the Germans still resembles in many leading features the picture drawn by Tacitus" and that "the ancient Gaul is still discernible in his modern descendants".<sup>26</sup>

Herder is sure that culture is the result not of individual endeavor but of the operation of folk-character. It is a nation as a whole which conceives and engenders culture. Culture is essentially national, and every nationality has a distinctive culture. Individual artists, poets, and prophets are only the most receptive and at the same time the most productive organs of the people; they are merely the agency by which a national language, a national literature, a national religion comes to light: the creative power is folk-character.

Of all expressions of folk-character, national language is the most significant and the most precious. "A philosophical comparison of languages", Herder asserts, "would constitute the best essay on the history and diversified character of the human heart and understanding, for every language bears the stamp of the mind and character of a people."<sup>27</sup> Each nation begets a language of its own; and a national language is at once the offspring and the guardian of a folk-character. A people can think naturally and produce great literature only in its own vernacular.

All who use a learned language wander as if their mind was in a dream; they think with the mind of others and are but imitatively wise. For is he who employs the art of another himself an artist? Nay, rather he in whose soul native thoughts arise and form a body for themselves, he who sees with the spirit as well as with the eye and describes not with the tongue but with the mind, . . . he is properly a man . . . and even a god among men.<sup>28</sup>

Such is the outline of the theory of cultural nationality which Herder sketched in the *Ideen*. He essayed no compact summary of it such as would have delighted political philosophers of the later German nationalist school. It is implicit, rather than explicit, in

<sup>25</sup> *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 261.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. 262.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 363.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 369-370. Cf. *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*, Br. 10 (1793), *Sämmtliche Werke*, XVII. 58-59.

the *Ideen*. Yet here as elsewhere Herder provided such a storehouse of specific illustrations of his general theory that nineteenth-century nationalist philosophers (and statesmen too) could draw copiously upon it for support of the downright dogma that a nationality is a primary grouping of the human race, naturally and providentially interposed between humanity and the individual, a grouping of persons who live within natural boundaries, possess a common soul, speak a common language, cherish common historical traditions, and constitute a distinct cultural society. This is the outstanding contribution of Johann Gottfried von Herder to the nineteenth-century doctrine of nationalism.

### III.

Less outstanding, because more indirect, were certain other very real contributions of Herder to the doctrine (and practice) of nationalism. I here refer to the numerous ways in which he inspired intellectuals of his and succeeding generations to engage in work which could not fail to render them confessors and doctors of the nationalist evangel.

In the first place, Herder was a pioneer, at least on the Continent of Europe, in the stimulation of romantic appreciation of folk-language and folk-literature. This he did by precept and by example. From his early writings at Riga on the "newer German literature" to his last publication of the *Adrastea*,<sup>29</sup> he was perpetually commenting on national literature and urging his contemporaries to cherish it and be true to it. His tastes were catholic, to put it mildly. He loved German literature of the Middle Ages, the *Meistersänge* and the *Minnesänge*, and he lauded the indigenous German literature of his own day. He admired British literature; he was enamored of Shakespeare, and to the last he perceived in Ossian the pure soul of the primitive Kelt rather than the artifice of the romantic Macpherson. He besought the Holy Roman Emperor to tolerate and honor Magyar, Rumanian, and other native languages. He praised Spanish literature and translated the *Cid*. He wrote a book on Hebrew poetry and reconciled his rationalism and his romanticism by finding in the Bible a revelation not so much of theological truth as of the most exquisite folk-literature and folk-legend. In old Slavic literature he discovered beauties not only to Germans but to the Slavs themselves, and the roots of literary Pan-Slavism lie in the soil which Herder tilled. He crowned his precepts with example when he published at Weimar an exceedingly valuable

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, vols. XXIII., XXIV.

and original collection of folk songs, containing translations from Norse, Lappish, Finnish, Spanish, Lithuanian, Serbian, English, and a number of other languages.<sup>30</sup> Professor Vaughan of Leeds is of opinion that in this collection "we have what is the most enduring monument of [Herder's] genius. . . . The very design of the work, an universal *Corpus Poeticum* of primitive races, was entirely without precedent. It supplied the material for a comparative criticism which he himself at the moment did not attempt".<sup>31</sup>

Herder never became a systematic or first-rate philologist, but his linguistic interests and enthusiasm did much to foster in others the study of comparative philology. Scientifically interested in the acquisition of exact knowledge and romantically disposed to acquire such knowledge as would throw light upon the various nations of mankind, he was doubly impressed with the importance of research into all the languages of the world. There was to him a close and mystical connection between the language and the character of a folk, and in the *Ideen* he makes a singularly informing and eloquent plea.

Not only do the organs of speech vary with regions, not only are there certain sounds and letters peculiar to almost every nation, but the giving of names, even in denoting audible things, nay in the immediate expression of the passions, in interjections, varies over all the earth. With respect to visible things and subjects of cool reflection, this variation is still greater; and in allegorical expressions, in figures of speech, it is almost infinite. The genius of a people is nowhere more displayed than in the physiognomy of its speech.

And he adds with mingled regret and hope: "Why can I yet cite no work that has ever in slight degree fulfilled the wish of Bacon, Leibnitz, Sulzer, and others for a *general physiognomy of peoples from their languages?*"<sup>32</sup> As the event proved, the answer to this query was almost immediately forthcoming in the work of Adelung, the Grimms, and a host of other savants. And it was not long before comparative philologists in Germany, in Bohemia, in Russia, in England, and elsewhere, were doing the very thing which Herder would have had them do; they were exalting nationality.

In the domain of anthropology it was the same. Herder was exasperated that the scientific spirit of his age was concerned more with botany and zoology than with man.

<sup>30</sup> *Alte Volkslieder* (1774) and *Volkslieder* (1778-1779). *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. XXV. Cf. also *Nachdichtungen aus der Griechischen, der Römischen, der Morgenländischen Litteratur*, vol. XXVI.

<sup>31</sup> C. E. Vaughan, *Periods of European Literature*, vol. X., *The Romantic Revolt* (1907), pp. 210-211.

<sup>32</sup> *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 363-365. Italics are Herder's.

Is human nature alone unworthy of that accurate attention with which plants and animals are described? Yet, as in modern times the laudable spirit of observation has begun to be excited towards the human species and we have descriptions of some nations, though but few, with which those of De Bry or Le Brun, not to mention the missionaries, will bear no comparison, it would be a valuable contribution if anyone who can would collect such scattered descriptions of the varieties of our species as are authentic and thus lay the foundation of a sound *natural philosophy and physiognomy of mankind*. Art could hardly be employed in a more philosophical pursuit, and an anthropological map of the earth, similar to the zoological map sketched by Zimmermann, in which nothing should be noticed except real diversities of man, but these in all their appearances and relations, would crown the philanthropic work.<sup>33</sup>

Anthropology as a science blossomed after Herder's death, but Herder had already indicated a series of trysting places wherein anthropology as well as philology might indulge youthful amours with nationality.

And history, too. Herder is certainly one of the "new historians" of whom we have been hearing much in our own day and country. His *Ideen* is an almost perfect example of the "new history"; it is the *Outline of History*, the *Contributions of the Social Sciences*, and the *Mind in the Making*, all rolled into one, and it is complete in two volumes. It begins with chaos and the creation, treats of our earth as a star among stars, explains the development of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, and then, with the aid of geology, anthropology, philology, psychology, economics, and comparative religion, touches the high spots of everything human at all times and in all places. It is no narrow political history; it is sociological and cultural, and it relates to the present the distant past of Asiatic, African, and American, as well as European peoples.

This "new history" was newer in the eighteenth than in the twentieth century. Herder invoked scientific ideals of historical research and writing and he used his vast canvas for ends that were at once humanitarian and national. Much of the older historical writing with which he was familiar was based on uncritical use of inaccurate sources.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, he discovered in it a general lack of appreciation of the genetic principle which to him seemed to be the key to all problems of human development. In his opinion, the habit of attributing historical development to the inscrutable will of a quite arbitrary Providence usually led to absurd contradictions and was the result of ignorance or lack of perception or both.<sup>35</sup> Not

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 251; cf. also XIV. 33. Italics are Herder's.

<sup>34</sup> *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, bk. XIII., ch. VII. *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIV. 145-146.

<sup>35</sup> *Ideen*, bk. XIV., ch. VI. *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIV. 198-203.



altogether free himself from casting his historical burdens upon the Lord,<sup>36</sup> Herder's work, taken as a whole, was an insistent exhortation for more painstaking collection and use of historical material, and this exhortation of his was heeded by the scientific historians of the nineteenth century.

But the majority of the scientific historians of the nineteenth century were national historians, and in this respect too their immediate precursor and exemplar was Herder. In theory, it is true, his history was broadly and nobly humanitarian (he lived in the eighteenth century); in fact, however, it treated of humanity, folk by folk, nation by nation, and its effect was to emphasize national history. In yet another way Herder's conception of history was of significance to later nationalist historians; I refer to his idea that "we can not judge everything according to our enlightened time" and that national legends and mythical exploits of national heroes are honorable expressions of national character and must be considered in relation to the time and place in which they were expressed. "Every nation", he says, "bears in itself the standard of its perfection, totally independent of all comparison with that of others."<sup>37</sup>

No one doubts, I suppose, the influence of historians, anthropologists, philologists, and litterateurs upon the formulation and propagation of the doctrine of nationalism in the nineteenth century. The first man who was at once a litterateur and an anthropologist, a philosopher and a "new historian", and who brought his whole many-sided genius to bear on the study of nationality was Johann Gottfried von Herder.

#### IV.

Herder made specific contributions to German nationalism. He was himself a German, and from his manifold studies of all manner of lands and peoples he seldom failed to draw a moral applicable to his own people and his own land. He repeatedly reminded his readers that Germany was not sufficiently conscious of her ancient cultural heritage nor did she esteem her own individuality as she might very properly do. In the outline of one of his projected essays, for example, he remarks upon the fashion prevalent among Germans of affecting to despise their own country as if nothing original, nothing worthy the serious attention of civilized Europe, could ever come out of it. He intended in this essay to enumerate the achievements of the German people and to close with a de-

<sup>36</sup> *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 140-141, 370, or other similar passages *ad lib.*

<sup>37</sup> "Ueber die Legende", *Zerstreute Blätter* (1797), *Sämmtliche Werke*, XVI. 395. Cf. also *ibid.*, IX. 530-532.

nunciation of the slavish imitation of foreigners which caused German inventors and thinkers and artists to go begging for support abroad.<sup>38</sup>

Already, in the *Ideen*, he had insisted that the active honoring of the fatherland was the *sine qua non* of solid, genuine development. "The savage who loves his wife and child with quiet joy and glows with natural ardor for his tribe as for his own life, is in my opinion a more real being than that cultivated ghost who is enraptured with the shadow of his whole species. . . . The savage has room in his poor hut for every stranger. . . . The deluged heart of the idle cosmopolite is a home for no one."<sup>39</sup> Germans especially should possess an appreciative affection for Germany.

To banish foreign cultural influences in order that the native German culture might grow and flourish was Herder's constant purpose. He was, of course, no pathfinder in the matter of banishing foreign thought and forms from Germany. Before ever he had left Königsberg, the preliminary skirmishing had been done by Bodmer and Breitinger, who had routed the advance guard of the French classicists and left their own successors in an advantageous position.<sup>40</sup> It remained for the latter, however, to turn this advantage to good account. It was their task to give form and content and prestige to the German literature which Bodmer and Breitinger had championed. Form and prestige were given by brilliant writers who now appeared in quick succession—Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, Goethe, Schiller, and others. But it was Herder who gave the new German literature its most striking nationalist content.

One reads with some misgiving Dr. J. G. Robertson's opinion that "all that is best in the next hundred years of German intellectual history—and much that has made for progress in that of Europe as a whole—may be traced back to Herder's stimulating initiative."<sup>41</sup> This is to claim too much for Herder; the literal proof of such an opinion would be difficult. But there is evidence in support of a slightly modified version of Dr. Robertson's judgment. Indeed, there can be little doubt that Herder had direct influence upon the succeeding generation of German nationalists.

<sup>38</sup> *Welchen Rang die Deutsche Nation unter den Gebildeten Völkern Europas Einnehme. Sämmtliche Werke*, XXXII. 519.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 339.

<sup>40</sup> Charles Joret, *Herder et la Renaissance Littéraire en Allemagne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (1875), ch. I. Cf. Karl Biedermann, *Deutschland im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (1880); Hermann Hettner, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (1879); and Karl Hillebrand, *German Thought from the Seven Years' War to Goethe's Death* (1880).

<sup>41</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, X. 386.

First, it is certain that Herder gave to German litterateurs a fuller appreciation than they formerly possessed of the wealth and value of the source-material which lay to hand within Germany itself. Thereby a literature more truly German than even Luther's Bible was stimulated into being. And incidentally this was to give rise to a German school of music which before long entirely eclipsed Italian forms and became a basic bond of union among Germans.

Secondly, it is significant that the first German attempt at an ordered history of literature was made by an acquaintance of Herder. It will be recalled that up to this time literary studies had been consecrated to one of two things—criticism of contemporary writings or discussion of ancient classical works. A continuous history of national literature was a new thing. Herder's reiterated plea for a recognition of the genetic principle in all human activities undoubtedly supported, if did not inspire, Friedrich Schlegel's *Geschichte der Alten und Neuen Litteratur* (1812) with its nationalist bent and implications. And whether or no it was acknowledged, the animating spirit of the long line of German literary histories that followed was again the genetic and folk principle popularized by Herder.

Thirdly, Herder had much to do with the establishment of the science of comparative philology in Germany. For not only did he urge in general terms the importance of linguistic research, but it was a timely hint from him which drew Schlegel's attention to Sir William Jones's discoveries in India and paved the way for the subsequent epochal achievements of Schlegel, Humboldt, J. and W. Grimm, Bopp, Max Müller, Steinthal, and Lagarde.

Fourthly, Herder's demand for a science of history and for its application to the study of nations was answered not only generally by the rise of scientific history and anthropology in Germany but also specifically by the plan and execution of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, that granary of supplies for German nationalist historiography throughout the nineteenth century.

Fifthly, Herder preached incessantly at Riga and at Weimar a radical reform of elementary German education,<sup>42</sup> and was enabled by the posts which he held to practise what he preached. At Weimar, for example, where he was to all intents and purposes the duke's minister of education, he remodelled the school curriculum so as to make it a more useful preparation for practical eighteenth-century German life. For a strict Latin régime he substituted a carefully graded programme of instruction in the mother-tongue, reading, writing, arithmetic, the sciences, and so forth, and relegated

<sup>42</sup> Cf. especially his *Schulreden* and *Schulbücher*, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. XXX.

Latin to the upper school.<sup>43</sup> This getting back to German foundations at the expense of Latin tradition which had endured so long in Germany was typical of Herder's aim in every sphere of interest and represented the planting of the seed which was to bear abundant harvest in Humboldt's later reform of Prussian education.

Sixthly, Herder contributed also, though perhaps less tangibly, to the subsequent strength in Germany of the idea that national religion is preferable to any world-religion. He himself was in an embarrassing position in this respect, for he was by conviction and profession at once a Christian and a champion of indigenous forms of religion. He extricated himself from the dilemma by blaming Roman Catholicism for proselytizing Germany and by commending Luther for reasserting something of the ancient German spirit in religion. Having secured in this manner a safely Protestant footing for himself, he was free to describe the havoc that had been wrought in Germany by the imposition of a foreign and exotic religion. Christianity ("the religion of the monks") had done irreparable harm to the tales, songs, customs, temples, and monuments of primitive but glorious German Paganism.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, the Catholic hierarchy had taught alien despotism to the free German peoples and had imposed it upon them. The colloquial Latin of the monks "helped to keep the vernacular languages of the European nations, and with them the peoples themselves, in barbarism. But it was particularly instrumental in depriving the people of its last share in public affairs because it was ignorant of Latin".<sup>45</sup> It was unfortunate, again, that foreign sacred writings were imported, for it is difficult for one people really to understand the thought of another people.

It is incontestable that the misconception and misuse of [the Hebrew sacred books] have been detrimental to the human mind in various respects, and the more as they have operated upon it under the claim of being divine. How many absurd cosmogonies have been framed from the simple and sublime story of the Creation given by Moses. . . . For centuries the forty days of the deluge have formed the peg on which historians of the human race have deemed it indispensable to hang all the phenomena of the structure of our earth. . . . How many great men, among whom Newton himself is to be reckoned, have the Jewish chronology and the Apocalypse robbed of time which might have been employed in more useful inquiries! Nay, even with regard to morality

<sup>43</sup> J. Mace Andress, *Herder as an Educator* (1916).

<sup>44</sup> "Nothing tended so much to suppress the mode of life of the northern nations as Christianity, by which the heroic religion of Odin was totally subverted." *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIV. 383-384.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. 415. Cf. also *Ueber die Neuere Deutsche Litteratur, Fragmente. Sämmtliche Werke*, II. 246-248.

and political institutions, the writings of the Hebrews, by being misconceived and misapplied, have imposed fetters on the minds of those nations by which they have been acknowledged.<sup>46</sup>

And so forth.

In religion, as in other aspects of culture, slow growth from within the folk was more to be desired than ready-made borrowings from neighbors. It seemed as though Herder in his numerous passages on religion<sup>47</sup> was forever seeking to reconcile faith with reason and Protestant Christianity with German Paganism and was thereby helping to fashion, probably unwittingly, the new synthesis of German nationalist religion which was to find mystical expression in the nineteenth century in the music of Wagner and the fiction of Chamberlain.

Above all these special contributions to German nationalism was Herder's vindication of the indefeasible right of Germany (and of every other nation) to its own life. His unique contribution along this line needs no further amplification. Suffice it to say that the arresting phrases which flowed from his pen year by year from 1764 to 1803 took lodgment in the public mind and popular heart of Germany and helped to nourish therein the inclination toward unity and independence which were brought to sudden fruition by the aggressions of Napoleon. Prussian regeneration and the German War of Liberation are almost unthinkable without the preparatory career of Johann Gottfried von Herder.

## V.

Herder was an eighteenth-century humanitarian and liberal. The cultural nationalism which he espoused was not an end in itself; it was a means of understanding and appreciating humanity as a whole. Nor did it involve any stern obligation of "manifest destiny" in bearing the "white man's burden" and exercising sovereign sway over "lesser breeds". The nineteenth-century nationalism of which Herder was the prophet was the liberal self-determining nationalism of a Mazzini, a John Stuart Mill, a Francis Lieber, and a Laveleye; it was equally good and rightful for all races and all continents. Most emphatically it was not the imperial nationalism of Treitschke, Homer Lea, Roosevelt, and Mussolini.

<sup>46</sup> *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIV. 64.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. also, in addition to the above passages quoted from the *Ideen*, his sermons, *Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. XXXI.; his *Christliche Schriften*, vols. XIX., XX.; his *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, vols. XI., XII.; and the nine articles in vol. VII., *passim*.

Herder inveighs frequently against the subjection of one nationality to another and especially against the incorporation of diverse nationalities in a despotic empire. He detests imperialism.

The most natural state [he asserts] is *one* people with *one* national character. This it retains for thousands of years, and this is most naturally formed when it is the object of its native princes; for a people is as much a natural plant as a family, only with more branches. Nothing therefore appears so directly opposed to the end of government as the unnatural enlargement of states, the wild mixture of various breeds and nations under one sceptre. A human sceptre is far too weak and slender for such incongruous parts to be engrafted upon it: glued together indeed they may be into a fragile instrument, termed an instrument of state, but destitute of inner life and of sympathy among the parts. Empires of this kind, which render the name of fathers of their country hardly applicable to the best of monarchs, appear in history like that symbol of monarchy in the vision of the prophet, where the lion's head, the dragon's tail, the eagle's wing, and the paws of the bear were joined in one unpatriotic figure of a state. Such monstrosities are pieced together like the Trojan horse in order to guaranty one another's immortality, although, being destitute of national character, there is no life in them, and nothing but the curse of fate can condemn to immortality such a forced union. For the very statecraft which framed them is also that which plays with men and peoples as with inanimate objects. But history sufficiently shows that such instruments of human pride are formed of clay, and, like all clay, will dissolve or crumble into bits.<sup>48</sup>

Herder is particularly vehement against European imperialism overseas. He has a regard as tender for the national character and national culture and national rights of Chinese and Hindus as for those of European peoples. Nature and Providence have created nationalities, he maintains, for the express purpose of rendering despotic subjugation more difficult and of preventing

all the four quarters of the globe from being crammed into the belly of a wooden horse. No Nimrod has yet been able to drive all the inhabitants of the wide world into one park for himself and his successors; and though it has been for centuries the object of united Europe to erect herself into a despot, compelling all the nations of the earth to be happy in her way, this happiness-dispensing deity is yet far from having obtained her end. . . . Ye men of all parts of the world who have perished in the lapse of aeons, ye have not lived and enriched the earth with your ashes that at the end of time your posterity should be made happy by European civilization.<sup>49</sup>

He even hints that nationalist revolutions and forcible opposition to foreign domination may be praiseworthy and conducive to human progress.

Only amid storms can the noble plant flourish; only by opposing struggles against false pretensions can the sweet labors of man be victorious. Nay,

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 384-385. Cf. *ibid.*, XIV. 139-140, 185-186, etc.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 341-342.

when men often appear to sink under their honest purposes, it is only in appearance so. In a subsequent period the seed germinates more beautifully from the ashes of the good, and when irrigated with blood seldom fails to shoot up into an unfading flower. I am no longer misled, therefore, by the phenomenon of revolutions: it is as necessary to our species, as the waves to the stream, that it become not a stagnant pool. The genius of humanity blooms in continually renovated youth and is regenerated as it proceeds, in families, in generations, and in nations.<sup>50</sup>

Herder might well be adopted as patronal saint by the patriots of all "oppressed" or "subject" nationalities throughout the world to-day. His gospel is theirs, as it was the gospel of exploited Germans at the beginning of the nineteenth century. And his hope is the hope of liberal nationalists the world over. He is very optimistic—and so are they. He is sure that despotism and war alike will cease with the triumph of the principle of nationality. Each people, with its folk-character, will then enter the domain of the ideal, conscious of the dignity and worth of its peculiar heritage, loving its past, working with informed ability toward the future consummation of the promise of the past, respecting the similar-dissimilar achievements of other peoples, reaching out toward the goal of a fulfilled humanity, the common goal toward which all nations will have come struggling up each in its own way. It is inconceivable to Herder that one free nation can or will wage war against another free nation.<sup>51</sup>

And yet . . . and yet . . . Herder, like the gentle dew from Heaven, has fallen upon both the just and the unjust. After Francis Lieber there was Treitschke; after J. S. Mill, Homer Lea; after Laveleye, Barrès; after Mazzini, Mussolini. Only the nineteenth century separates Herder from the Great World War of the Nations.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

<sup>50</sup> *Sämmtliche Werke*, XIII. 353.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII. 155, 160, 322; XIV. 221-225, 242-243.



## REVOLUTIONARY SYMBOLISM IN THE JACOBIN CLUBS

THERE was used in parts of France during the more excited days of the Revolution a republican sign of the cross, in the name of "Marat, Lepelletier, la liberté ou la mort".<sup>1</sup> As the Jacobins commonly lacked not only a sense of humor, but even a feeling for its moral equivalent, irony, it may be assumed that the users, and even the inventor, of this extraordinary device were at the moment wholly in earnest. The parallel between the French Revolution and movements more purely, or at least more formally, religious has of course been too obvious to escape historians. Before De Tocqueville and Taine, however, the parallel had been drawn. As early as the autumn of 1790, an unknown agent of the state of Bern wrote to his government: "This is not an ordinary revolution. It is a kind of religion which has its fanatics and its apostles."<sup>2</sup>

The subject, though not new, is inexhaustible. Not only is the interpretation of the Jacobin religion a problem in which differences of opinion are always to be expected, but the industry of French local historians is continually producing a new supply of unassimilated facts. MM. Aulard, Mathiez, and Dommanget have written excellent accounts of the development of the various revolutionary cults.<sup>3</sup> With a somewhat more evident philosophical bias, De Tocqueville, Taine, and A. Cochin have sought to criticize the workings of the Jacobin conscience.<sup>4</sup> The religious elements in the ordinary proceedings of the *sociétés des amis de la constitution* and their successors have not however been so closely studied. The members of these societies took part in public manifestations of the revolutionary cults, those of *la patrie*, of Reason, of the Supreme Being; but very early in their regular club meetings they began to develop a ritual of their own, a ritual at least as suggestive of religious practices as of parliamentary procedure. A study from this point of view of some of the

<sup>1</sup> Dommanget, *La Déchristianisation à Beauvais* (1922), pt. 2, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Oct. 22, 1790, in State Archives of Bern, quoted by A. Stern, *Revue Historique*, March, 1889, p. 313 and n.

<sup>3</sup> Aulard, *Le Culte de la Raison et le Culte de l'Être Suprême* (1892); Mathiez, *Les Origines des Cultes Révolutionnaires* (1904); *La Théophilanthropie et le Culte Décadaire* (1904); Dommanget, *La Déchristianisation à Beauvais*.

<sup>4</sup> De Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution* (1856); Taine, *Origines de la France Contemporaine* (1876-1894); Cochin, *Les Sociétés de Pensée et la Démocratie: Études d'Histoire Révolutionnaire* (1921).

surviving minutes of these clubs ought therefore to be not unfruitful.<sup>5</sup>

The symbolism employed by the clubs must, of course, be understood as one aspect of the religious enthusiasm that marked the attempts to spread the revolutionary cults throughout France; and, although it is difficult to compress such manifestations into a summary account, the activities of the clubs will lose most of their meaning if they can not be thus referred to the general phenomena of revolutionary religious symbolism.<sup>6</sup> Of the revolutionary cults, the first in time as in importance may be called simply that of *la patrie*. With the fall of the Bastille it found its first symbol in the tricolor cockade. Then *autels de la patrie*, simple stone blocks, suitably inscribed with moral aphorisms of the Enlightenment, were erected on village greens and in front of city halls. Trees of liberty—and here the revolutionists adopted for themselves the immemorial custom of the may-pole—were planted by municipalities and patriotic societies. As the Revolution developed, party symbols like the Mountain, symbols of emergency like the *œil de surveillance*, and symbols more directly borrowed from Christianity, like the martyred trinity, Marat, Lepelletier, and Chalier, were introduced. People were gathered together for ceremonies built up around these symbols. The “federations” of July 14, 1790, at Paris and in the provinces were probably the most sincere and the most universally shared of such moments of collective emotion. But there were also fraternal meals held in the open air, where the youths served simple dishes to their elders, assembled with no distinction of rank or wealth. More obvious imitations of Christian practice began to appear. There were civic marriages, civic baptisms, civic burials. Revolutionary songs were written, and the songs became hymns. The Declaration of the Rights of Man took on the authority of scripture.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The minutes of most of these societies have been lost, and the remaining ones are often incomplete. This is true despite the seizure of the papers of the clubs ordered by the government in the year III. The documents were after all not quite official, and they were certainly among the most incriminating records of the Terror; many of the government agents themselves had a Jacobin past to efface. Yet enough of the documents have survived to form a very adequate base for a judgment of the ideas and practices common to the clubs. This paper is founded upon a study of the proceedings, in whole or in part, of some sixty clubs representing all the regional divisions of France.

<sup>6</sup> The best brief summary of this symbolism is in Mathiez, *Les Origines des Cultes Révolutionnaires*, pp. 29–62.

<sup>7</sup> A festival in honor of Equality held in *Commune Affranchie* (Lyons) in the spring of 1794 will illustrate this symbolism. In the long procession of officials, national guardsmen, and members of patriotic societies there were carried a carpenter's level in the name of equality, busts of the great Frenchmen, Marat,

In this general cult of *la patrie*, there grew up special cults, much of a piece with the parent cult, and only to be distinguished from it by some dramatic quality, by a personality or a patriotic creed. The cult of Reason, culminating in the ceremony at Notre Dame that forms one of the picturesque commonplaces of the Revolution, has a completeness of its own. So too has that of the Supreme Being, in whose honor Robespierre led the famous procession of 20 Prairial. After the terror the cult of *la patrie* was in part continued in what came to be known from its calendar as the *culte décadaire*. Still other odds and ends of eighteenth-century thought were fused into the "theophilanthropy" associated with the name of La Révellière-Lépeaux.

The "societies of friends of the constitution" early adopted a kindred religious symbolism for their ordinary sessions. This is the more remarkable because these clubs were originally gatherings for social enjoyment and political discussion, partly modelled on Anglo-Saxon originals, and there seems on the surface no more reason for their adoption of a semi-religious ritual than there would be for a similar step by a poetry society or a college debating club. The society at Castres, for instance, originated in a *cercle littéraire* founded in 1782; that of Colmar in the *Tabagie Littéraire* of 1785; that of Paris, as is well known, in a caucus of Breton delegates to the Estates-General.<sup>8</sup> There was certainly an important masonic element in these societies; but though that may explain their liking for ritual, it can hardly explain all the forms their ritual assumed.<sup>9</sup> The more active supporters of the National Assembly in a town would come together and organize a club for the interchange of what the eighteenth century called *lumières*. They wanted above all to take part in the fascinating political activity now at last open to ordinary Frenchmen; they therefore copied closely the procedure of the National Assembly. Officers were elected, motions made, previous questions moved and adjournments taken, just as if the club were a responsible parliamentary body.

Lepelletier, and Chalier, busts of Brutus, William Tell, and Rousseau, "foreigners worthy of being Frenchmen", a statue of liberty, tables inscribed with the laws, jars and baskets of food for the communal feast which was to mark the height of the celebration, and "other emblems of the present cult of Frenchmen". *Journal Républicain des Deux Départements de Rhône et de Loire*, nos. 29 and 31, 18 and 22 ventôse, an II.

<sup>8</sup> Dupéron, "La Société de Castres", in *Bulletin des Sciences Économiques et Sociales*, 1897, p. 393; Leuillot, *Les Jacobins de Colmar* (1923), p. 449; Bouchard, *Le Club Breton* (1920).

<sup>9</sup> See Martin, *La Franc-Maçonnerie Française et la Préparation de la Révolution* (1926).

The club would commonly meet in an unpretentious room, often rented from an innkeeper, and at first quite unadorned.<sup>10</sup> It is, however, in the matter of furnishings that the first trace of the Jacobin love of symbolism is to be found. Busts of the heroes of the Enlightenment soon appeared to encourage the supporters of the constitution. Later, busts of Marat and of other revolutionary martyrs were venerated as the images of the saints had been;<sup>11</sup> but for the present the clubs contented themselves with debates on the exact membership of their pantheon. At Paris, busts of Benjamin Franklin and Dr. Price were placed beside the bust of Mirabeau, still dead in glory. A member protested indignantly that the bust of the "father of liberty" was lacking. So Rousseau was added at once; and, upon other protests, Mably and Sidney joined the group.<sup>12</sup> The tricolor was soon suspended over the president's chair; but in the early and more hopeful days it was usually accompanied by the American, English, and sometimes the Polish flags in honor of the other peoples of the universe virtuous enough to be free.<sup>13</sup> As the monarchy visibly declined, the Phrygian bonnet came into fashion with the radical republicans. Doppet, addressing the Paris Jacobins in March, 1792, contrived, while fumbling in his pocket for his notes, to fish out a liberty cap. The cheers of the club forced him to put it on, and even Robespierre could only postpone its formal adoption. Under the republic the president of almost every club was required to wear the cap as a symbol of his office.<sup>14</sup>

Later, at the height of the Jacobin power, the clubs usually met in abandoned churches or convents turned over to their use by the government. Even though all accessible "signs of fanaticism" were removed it must have been difficult for the Jacobins to preserve in such precincts the philosophic preoccupation with the present so necessary to reformers. Marat, Lepelletier, and Chaliér, the martyred trinity, filled the niches formerly held by the saints. The tri-

<sup>10</sup> The members of the society at Ars-en-Ré brought their own chairs. De Richemond, "Délibérations de la Société d'Ars-en-Ré", *Archives Historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XXXIV. (1904), 86.

<sup>11</sup> At Limoges, for instance, the bust of Marat was carried in procession through the streets, and the shops closed during the ceremony. Fray-Fournier, *Le Club des Jacobins de Limoges* (1903), p. 181.

<sup>12</sup> Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins* (1889-1897), III. 291.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290; Labroue, *La Société Populaire de Bergerac* (1915), p. 192. The society at Bergerac by a curious use of synecdoche referred to the American flag as *celui des Bostoniens*.

<sup>14</sup> *Journal des Débats de la Société . . . séante aux Jacobins, à Paris*, no. 158 (Mar. 11, 1792). Doppet, who later became a general in the revolutionary army, claims rather ingenuously in his memoirs that the whole thing was an accident. Doppet, *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires* (1797), p. 45.

color, now without allies, and often flanked by the symbolic pike, was furled behind the rostrum.<sup>15</sup> A framed copy of the Declaration of the Rights of Man was sure to hang in a place of honor; and the words "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité, ou la Mort", would be generously inscribed upon the walls.

To a hall thus filled with visible reminders of what was expected of him, the Jacobin came less for deliberation than for edification. At Aix-en-Provence, each member as he entered the hall cried out: "Vive la République! Vive la Montagne! Vivent les sans-culottes!"<sup>16</sup> Usually, however, the meeting was begun by the presiding officer according to a formula that varied somewhat from place to place. The president at Mayenne addressed the club, "Frères, surveillance, énergie, fraternité", and the public gathered to watch what was certainly the most interesting spectacle in town, "Citoyens, tranquillité et silence!"<sup>17</sup> At Thonon the formula ran: "Au nom du peuple souverain. Égalité, Liberté, Fraternité ou la Mort. Reconnaissance aux braves Montagnards, Honneur aux mânes de Marat, Lepelletier, et autres martyrs de la Révolution, par l'imitation de leurs vertus. La séance est ouverte."<sup>18</sup> Republican prayers and hymns opened the meetings of the society of Auch.<sup>19</sup> At Limoges the president first sang a couplet of the Marseillaise, and then was joined by the club in unison.<sup>20</sup>

Hymns were sung at other times in the course of the session, sometimes by the club, sometimes by patriotic ladies who volunteered their services. Hymns to Nature, to the Mountain, to Liberty, and to Reason abound, often the work of local Jacobins. But the Marseillaise was from the first the favorite tune, though only later were its words not to be tampered with. The society at Rodez, for instance, listened to a poem on the marriage of priests, set to the tune of the Marseillaise, with the refrain:

La nature et l'hymen sont les premières lois,  
Le coeur, le coeur nous dit assez nos devoirs et nos droits.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, III. 382.

<sup>16</sup> Ponteil, "La Société Populaire des Antipolitiques d'Aix", *Revue Historique de la Révolution Française* (1918), XIII. 280.

<sup>17</sup> Galland, "Les Sociétés Populaires de Laval et de Mayenne", *Bulletin de la Commission Historique de la Mayenne*, deuxième série (1902), XVIII. 37.

<sup>18</sup> Mugnier, "La Société Populaire de Thonon", *Mémoires de la Société Savoisienne* (1898), XXXVII. 160.

<sup>19</sup> Brégail, "La Société Populaire d'Auch", *Bulletin de la Comité des Travaux Historiques* (1911), p. 164.

<sup>20</sup> Fray-Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

<sup>21</sup> Combes de Patris, *Procès-Verbaux de la Société Populaire de Rodez* (1912), p. 191.

The society of Chateau-Thierry sang its republican hymns to an organ accompaniment.<sup>22</sup>

The hymns were frequently followed, properly enough, by a sermon. Neither practical matters of communal administration nor even personal quarrels could fill out the proceedings of most of these societies. To judge by the minutes that have survived, much of the average meeting was taken up with moral discourses, republican confessions of faith, and other abstractions in the taste of the time. The recording secretaries have usually confined themselves to mentioning the subject of the moral discourse—the Voice of Nature, the Golden Age, Patriotism and Virtue—and the satisfaction of the audience. Those whose substance has been preserved seem now as emptily abstract and as dull as the moralities of Robespierre; but occasionally there is a passage where literary fashion conceals less completely the emotions underneath:

It is thou, O holy Revolution, who hast brought us happiness; it is thou whom I should love with all my strength, whom I should defend with my life-blood, that thou mayest triumph over the tyrants banded against thee! Thou, O holy liberty, O holy equality, who make it possible for me boldly to say: I am but a poor peasant, I am but a simple workman, and my son may become a magistrate, a legislator, a ship's master, a general.<sup>23</sup>

Other, and perhaps more superficial, likenesses between the ordinary proceedings of these clubs and the traditional services of religion are easily collected. The society at Cherbourg kept in its hall a box deliberately labelled "Tronc pour les pauvres" and inscribed "Souviens-toi que tu as des frères malheureux".<sup>24</sup> After the sermon of *décadi*, the society at Ars-en-Ré was in the habit of taking up a collection.<sup>25</sup> The secretary of the society at Chateau-Thierry thus describes another ceremony: "Bézu announces that he is father of a new republican. He asks that the birth registration take place in the midst of the society and that the president and the citizenness Andrieu be witnesses, to which request they consent. The child is brought into the meeting amid reiterated applause and the president delivers from the tribune a moral discourse on the errors of prejudice." The witnesses, who evidently correspond to godfather and godmother in this republican christening, named the infant Chalier Bézu.<sup>26</sup> The society at Thonon provided an adjoining

<sup>22</sup> Rollet, "Procès-Verbaux de la Société de Chateau-Thierry", *Annales de la Société Historique de Chateau-Thierry* (1881), p. 187.

<sup>23</sup> Teissère, "Un discours dans un Club en 1791", *Annales de la Société d'Études Provençales* (1905), II, 223.

<sup>24</sup> Galland, "La Société Populaire de Cherbourg", *Bulletin de la Comité de Travaux Historiques* (1906), p. 333.

<sup>25</sup> De Richemond, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>26</sup> Rollet, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

room "for the instruction of young people during the meetings of the society". The Jacobins had discovered the uses of the Sunday School before that institution became common in organized churches.<sup>27</sup>

There is no doubt a danger in pushing the religious analogy too far. Much of the time of these clubs was taken up with political debates, with town affairs, with personal intrigues and, later, when the clubs were partially incorporated into the revolutionary government, with actual administrative work. Yet perhaps the modern separation between church and state has made us to-day a bit oversure that salvation in politics, at any rate, is of this world. The Jacobins were certainly not so clear on this point. Not only were their meetings in good part filled with hymns and exhortations, set phrases and ceremonies, but their official phraseology abounds in reminiscences of Christian theology. Sometimes the crudeness of the parallel betrays either plain stupidity or the calculation of the showman, as in the following notice from the organ of the club at Limoges: "Pater, Ave, Credo, acts of faith, hope, love, contrition, *confiteor*, decalogue, and revolutionary commandments of the Mountain, by citizen Foucaud."<sup>28</sup> This, like the republican sign of the cross, may perhaps be dismissed as an historical curiosity. But throughout the proceedings of these clubs there recur, more naturally and more unexpectedly, evidences of the Jacobin desire to save the fleeting and impotent individual by uniting him to the eternal group.

As early as 1790 the Jacobins of Paris were told that they had achieved the "apostolate of liberty".<sup>29</sup> The word apostle subsequently was on everyone's lips. The town clubs sent "apostles" or "missionaries" out into the country districts, still mostly in unphilosophic darkness. Ordinary propaganda is not sufficient to spread the "*évangile révolutionnaire*" in such places, says the organ of the club of Besançon. "The publications of the societies are not sufficient, few people read them; but everyone likes to listen to a man who has come especially to warm his compatriots' zeal by his discourse, and to raise their souls to the enthusiasm of liberty."<sup>30</sup> In at least one club, the number of these apostles was deliberately set at twelve.<sup>31</sup> The mission undertaken was no light one, for in many parts of France the hostility of the peasants subjected these

<sup>27</sup> Mugnier, *op. cit.*, p. 161. Robert Raikes, regarded as the founder of the modern Sunday School movement, established his first school in 1782.

<sup>28</sup> *Journal du Département de la Haute Vienne*, no. 19, 29 frimaire, an II.

<sup>29</sup> Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, I. 406.

<sup>30</sup> *La Vedette, ou Journal du Département du Doubs*, no. 82, 1 brumaire, an II.

<sup>31</sup> Aulard, *Le Culte de la Raison et le Culte de l'Être Suprême*, p. 127.



conscientious Jacobins to bodily danger. The society of Aix announced that it would face "its tyrants with political gospel in one hand and homicidal steel in the other".<sup>32</sup> At Lunéville, special seats were set aside during the meetings for the "proselytes".<sup>33</sup> The poet laureate of the same club produced an invitation to destroy the Inquisition in Spain which the minutes declare "digne du *cantique* des Marseillais".<sup>34</sup> Members of the regenerated society of Saverne were allowed to remain in good standing so long as "no one accused their faith".<sup>35</sup> On the second register of the club of Bergerac, ending March 5, 1792, is inscribed in large letters "Registre Sacré".<sup>36</sup>

There is to be found a tendency to allegory which has obvious analogies with European traditions of religious instruction. "O PEOPLE! You saw in time the snare set for you; and from the lofty summit you were occupying you did but descend, your mass filled all the irregularities, and there appeared an enormous MOUNTAIN, at the very spot where once had been a *plain*, at first fertile, then dry and arid, and finally swampy."<sup>37</sup> Sometimes there are phrases of an unction no doubt unjustly associated with certain aspects of religious belief. A constitutional priest addressing the society of Bordeaux saw fit to phrase his adhesion to revolutionary cause thus: "I believe in the all-powerful National Assembly, creator of good and of liberty."<sup>38</sup> And the president of the society at Bergerac hailed "the election of our new [constitutional] bishop, which will cause to flow through our souls the precious balm of a Constitution established on the unshakeable base of a holy religion".<sup>39</sup> A more exalted state of mind is evident in the inaugural address of a president at Thann. His election raises him as it were above himself but makes him feel all the more his own insufficiency; he is aware that only the *lumières* of his fellows can make clear to him the narrow path where he burns to walk.<sup>40</sup> Such too are the feelings of a

<sup>32</sup> Ponteil, *op. cit.*, XIII. 285.

<sup>33</sup> Baumont, "La Société Populaire de Lunéville", *Annales de l'Est* (1889), III. 361.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349. The italics are mine.

<sup>35</sup> Fischer, "La Société Populaire de Saverne", *Revue d'Alsace* (1869), XX. 128.

<sup>36</sup> Labroue, *op. cit.*, p. 205, n. 2.

<sup>37</sup> *La Vedette, ou Journal du Département du Doubs*, no. 9, 20 pluviôse, an II. The "plain" is, of course, the neutral centre party in the convention.

<sup>38</sup> Flottes, "Le Club des Jacobins de Bordeaux", *Révolution Française* (1916), LXIX. 340.

<sup>39</sup> Labroue, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

<sup>40</sup> Poulet, "L'Esprit Public à Thann pendant la Révolution", *Revue Historique de la Révolution Française* (1918), XIII. 218.

member of the society of female friends of the constitution at Besançon: "O precious effects of *patriotisme*! I feel that it raises me, that it expands my soul; I feel that I am more than myself."<sup>41</sup> Occasionally there is proof that this exaltation could be shared. The club of Eymoutiers took, amid an "indescribable delirium", an oath prescribed by the department of the Haute-Vienne: "I call down anathema upon kings and tyrants, anathema upon dictators, upon triumvirs, upon false defenders, upon false protectors of the people; anathema upon any who under the title of chief, general, stadholder, prince or any other name whatsoever would usurp a superiority, a pre-eminence over his fellow-citizens; and I swear to pursue him to the death."<sup>42</sup>

It is not merely, then, that the Jacobins often employed a vocabulary borrowed from Christian practice; it is also true that their emotions must be accepted as a variety of religious experience. This ought to be evident from much of the foregoing; but it is still more clear in the accounts of the successive purgings which, at the word of order from the Paris club, the Jacobins universally underwent.<sup>43</sup> These *épurations*—the word is not quite translatable—were of two kinds. Politically at least the more important *épuración* was merely a device for getting rid of undesirable elected members of the municipal and district administrations. A list of all the members of the administrations would be read from the platform, and the "people" assembled in the rooms of the society would decide what ones should be retained. In practice the meeting was of course packed, and the whole operation carried out at the dictation of the representative on mission sent out from Paris, who usually presided at the meeting. Psychologically, however, the other sort of *épuración* is more interesting. Sessions were held to determine the orthodoxy of the whole membership of a society, a process which often meant the stringing out of meetings for days. Only the private concerns of comparatively unimportant men were at stake, and the representatives on mission rarely bothered to attend these meetings. The usual procedure was for each member to take the platform in turn and justify his orthodoxy before a single judge chosen for his purity, or a small core of members admittedly irreproachable. Frequently a list of questions formed the test. What were you in 1789? What have you done up to the present for the Revolution? Have you been in any monarchical club or counter-revolutionary military organization, or signed unpatriotic petitions? The result was something

<sup>41</sup> *La Vedette, ou Journal du Département du Doubs*, no. 9, Dec. 4, 1792.

<sup>42</sup> Granier, "Un club Limousin", *Annales Révolutionnaires* (1923), XV. 316.

<sup>43</sup> Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, V. 48 ff.

strikingly similar to "experience meetings" of certain Protestant sects. Indeed, the members of the society of Thann were called upon to "make a clean breast of it all at the bar of the assembly".<sup>44</sup> At Limoges, the secretary writes of the "*confession générale*".<sup>45</sup>

These confessions are unfortunately not often recorded. But even from these bare records, it is easy to imagine the tautness of nerves, the contagion of excitement, which wait upon the dramatic possibility that under pressure something secret and damning will emerge. A provincial journalist protests against the *épuration* at Besançon:

For more than a *décade* the meetings of the society have been consecrated to the *scrutin épuratoire*. It would seem that for the past few days the temple of liberty has been converted into a gladiatorial arena, into which each patriot has been obliged to descend in succession to make with his bloody wounds a spectacle for the public. . . . While reproaching one another for what are after all peccadillos, we have given and taken wounds whose scars we shall always bear.<sup>46</sup>

A member of the Lyons society writes of these *épurations* in terms that make equally clear how far they were tests of conscience and of ability to withstand a common inquisition: "This tribunal of the conscience of man and the justice of the people is terrible indeed, but it is also just. The most practised audacity, the most refined hypocrisy disappeared before the watchful and penetrating eyes of the sound members of the society and of the numerous citizens who filled the galleries."<sup>47</sup>

Most of the accepted confessions must have been dull enough, as that of Citizen Rebours of Fontainebleau. "I have scrutinized carefully my conscience and my life, public and private, and I find myself perfectly pure. I imbibed my revolutionary principles in England, and I have retained them. They caused me under the old régime to be distrusted by my superiors. . . . I took part in the events at Paris from July 12, 1789, for two days and two nights, etc."<sup>48</sup> The rejections are rather more interesting. At Beauvais, men were excluded from the society for having "abased the holy Mountain by calling it a handful of Maratistes", for calumniating another patriot, for intriguing to get public office, and for remaining a bachelor at forty. The rejection of one poor man, because he

<sup>44</sup> Poulet, *op. cit.*, XIII. 538.

<sup>45</sup> Fray-Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>46</sup> *La Vedette, ou Journal du Département du Doubs*, no. 10, 23 pluviôse, an II.

<sup>47</sup> *Journal Républicain des Deux Départements de Rhône et de Loire*, no. 7, 4 nivôse, an II.

<sup>48</sup> Constant, "Un Club de Jacobins en Province", *Le Correspondant* (1876), CII. 753.

"lacked the degree of warmth necessary for a real republican", prompted another to defend himself by claiming that "if his physique was cold, his morals were warm".<sup>49</sup> An official at Colmar seems to have been rejected partly because he was a "dear grocer".<sup>50</sup> It clearly will not do to forget that the Jacobins were human beings after all, and that their politics were not always transcendental.

For much of the feeling it is tempting to catalogue as religious is no doubt merely a form of group-excitement and could as readily have been aroused by a murder-trial or a good fire. And yet surely the only objective test of our emotions is the object on which they are spent. These people were aroused at meetings of the Jacobin clubs, and they were aroused during the partially religious ceremonies that have been described. Of course their emotions were mixed, and before the drama enacted many remained spectators, and even critics, rather than participants. The secretary at Thonon somewhat irreverently describes an emotional soprano who sang patriotic duets with a club-member. "The *sans-culottides* transports of this citizenship, the energy, the lively and animated expression of her song, the mutual and repeated embraces with which she favored her partner, contributed not a little to excite the joy and laughter of the society."<sup>51</sup> These inspired women were, of course, familiar figures in the clubs. A curious example of group-emotion, to be taken rather more seriously, is found in the records of the club of Pau. A delegate brought back to the president a fraternal embrace from Monestier, representative on mission. The president embraced in turn the person next him, and the embrace "was consequently carried, given and received from neighbor to neighbor, even into the galleries, a spectacle which brought joy and tenderness to all".<sup>52</sup> This is no doubt the sensibility in fashion at the time; yet the historian, more than most men, should be aware that fashion is usually sincere.

The minutes of these clubs not infrequently mention "philanthropic prayers", a devotional exercise in which there is a more unmistakable union of ritual and emotion. This is the more obviously so because the absurdity of prayer to the god of the deists must have been clear to all but the very devout. Such a prayer was composed by the committee of correspondence of the Lunéville society and given by the president during the regular meeting. After addressing

<sup>49</sup> Thiot, "Les Sociétés Populaires de Beauvais", *Bulletin de la Société d'Études de l'Oise* (1908), XX, 966-967.

<sup>50</sup> Leuillot, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>51</sup> Mugnier, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>52</sup> Laborde, "Un Club Féminin pendant la Révolution", *Revue du Béarn* (1911), II, 465. The incident above described took place, however, in the masculine club.

the Eternal Being, who showed his existence so visibly in the harmony of the material universe, who had made for each need a corresponding satisfaction, the prayer suddenly cries, "Que ta foudre fasse justice de tous nos ennemis connus et cachés! Ils sont les tiens, Dieu vengeur!"<sup>53</sup> The transition from the clock-maker God to the avenging God is surprising enough; but it is quite of a piece with other Jacobin borrowings from religious tradition.

These borrowings—or better, perhaps, these similarities—are not exhausted by a description of the ritual of club meetings, the curious religious phraseology that crops up in unexpected passages, and the emotional abandon of men who lose desire and shame in the achievement of the group. It is possible to sketch from the proceedings of the clubs the outlines of a polity held together by concepts primarily theological. Grace, sin, heresy, repentance, regeneration have their place in these records. Of course, no one individual is assumed to go through this cycle. The theological parallel is not a literal one; but it is not a forced nor an imaginary one.

That Robespierre and his more sincere followers conceived themselves to be the small band of the elect is of course a truism. The conception of election, however, like so much else in the Terror, goes back surprisingly far in the Revolution. Desmoulins speaks at the Jacobins in 1791 of "the very small number of those *to whom only the witness of their conscience is necessary*, the small number of men of character, incorruptible citizens".<sup>54</sup> This insistence on an inner, emotional conviction of righteousness rather than on external rules—the very old opposition of faith and works—comes out again in the proceedings of the Paris club. "One must distrust", says the speaker, "liberty unaccompanied by virtue"; and by virtue he understands "not the mere practice of moral duties, but also an exclusive attachment to the unalterable principles of our constitution".<sup>55</sup> The club at Limoges was told: "It is not enough, in order to belong to a truly republican society, to call oneself republican, to have done guard duty, to have paid one's taxes; one must have given sure indications of hatred for kings and nobles, for fanaticism; one must have passed through the crucible of perilous circumstance."<sup>56</sup> The idea of grace is actually complemented in this club by the addition of a new Jerusalem, the city of the elect. Paris, for its work in the revolution, is to be "that holy city".<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Baumont, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

<sup>54</sup> Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, III. 214. The italics are mine.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 235.

<sup>56</sup> Fray-Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

There are also the damned. The Jacobins did not feel of their opponents merely that they were wrong, or inconvenient; but that they had sinned. A member at Rodez recalled to the society that just a year before, a deputation from the Tarn had "soiled the precincts of the society with the venom of federalism". The society therefore decided "as *expiation* for that scandalous session, to consecrate a portion of the present session to patriotic songs".<sup>58</sup> At Bergerac the society burned the papal bull condemning the civil constitution of the clergy, in order to purify the paper from "the outrageous blasphemies which insult our sublime Constitution".<sup>59</sup> Some aristocrats at Vesoul having kissed the tree of liberty in mockery, the local club decided to purify it. So, with the president at its head, and with four members carrying vases of pure water and braziers of incense, the club marched in procession to the tree, where, after everyone had sworn to preserve it forever after from all contamination, "the tree was purified with the lustral water, and the president threw on the heated tripods generous handfuls of the most exquisite perfumes".<sup>60</sup> The club at Auch had so strong a conviction of sin that it adapted for its own use the attitude of the Church toward burial in consecrated ground. It proposed to have two town cemeteries, one for good citizens, the other for bad.<sup>61</sup>

Heresy is, of course, one of the easiest ways of falling into sin. The word itself was by no means shunned by the Jacobins. Even under the monarchy, Brissot is found at the Paris club objecting that an opinion of Barnave's is "a great heresy".<sup>62</sup> The rejections of members at the various *épurations* are, of course, usually for heresy of some sort. One man was excluded at Thann because, although at first he had been a good *patriote*, "the corrupting contact of his brother-in-law had completely perverted him"; another, though himself pure, because his maid was not.<sup>63</sup> At Carcassonne one of the questions put was: How long did you lack confidence in Marat and the Mountain? Several were excluded for honestly confessing that they had had a period of doubt on this subject.<sup>64</sup> The pressure of foreign and civil war made the Jacobins more than usually exacting towards their proselytes. One society at least penalized those con-

<sup>58</sup> Combes de Patris, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

<sup>59</sup> Labroue, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

<sup>60</sup> *La Vedette, ou Journal du Département du Doubs*, no. 68, June 29, 1792.

<sup>61</sup> Bregail, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

<sup>62</sup> Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, II. 189.

<sup>63</sup> Poulet, *op. cit.*, p. 544.

<sup>64</sup> Mandoul, "Le Club des Jacobins de Carcassonne", *Révolution Française* (1893), XXV. 326.

verted after 1792 by not allowing them to hold office.<sup>65</sup> Collot d'Herbois at Paris was seeking to get re-admitted to the society some of those who had followed the Feuillants in the schism. "Many of these", he said, "are exceedingly repentant, and would like to efface from their lives the days they spent at the Feuillants." Yet at Robespierre's insistence they were rejected.<sup>66</sup> And, along with heresy, there is the concept of blasphemy. This is from a report of a session of the Paris club: "An officer, an exchanged prisoner, gives an account of the condition of the French and the Austrian armies. But as he reports some violent words used by the enemy general, he is interrupted. Billaud-Varenne reminds the orator that he is repeating expressions which ought not to soil the mouth of a republican."<sup>67</sup>

The idea of regeneration lies somewhat apart from the subject at hand; it belongs rather to the whole philosophy of the Revolution than to the procedure and policy of the Jacobin clubs. Yet there are certain significant instances where the idea crops up in the clubs; and these may well complete the roll of theological elements in their proceedings. The taking of the Bastille became the symbolic date, the moment when man was born anew, washed clean of the evils of the old régime. A little provincial society, accordingly, when it celebrates the "holy festival" of July 14, refers to it as the day "when man is resuscitated and born anew in his rights".<sup>68</sup> The society of St. Jean de Luz held a festival to celebrate the "abolition of royalty and the *resurrection* of the republic". It is hard to see how the word resurrection can here be taken in any but a theological sense.<sup>69</sup> Finally, the society at Saverne gave proof of the most extraordinary faith in the completeness of the rebirth brought about in 1789, for its secretary refers to "les ci-devant Juifs".<sup>70</sup>

At this point no doubt the parallel is somewhat forced. In any such study of the proceedings of the Jacobin clubs account must be taken of the verbal sensibility of the age, the journalistic ambitions of young recording secretaries, the presence of numerous sham Jacobins with a sardonic love of extremes, the natural exaggeration and lack of imagination of the propagandist, and—though doubts on the matter are surely permitted the historian—the possible existence

<sup>65</sup> Fray-Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

<sup>66</sup> Aulard, *La Société des Jacobins*, III. 313.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 618.

<sup>68</sup> Labroue, "La Société Populaire de la Garde-Freinet", *Révolution Française* (1908), LIV. 155.

<sup>69</sup> Annat, "La Société Populaire de St. Jean de Luz", *Revue du Béarn* (1910), p. 170.

<sup>70</sup> Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 181.



of a sophomoric sense of humor. Take the religion of the Jacobin clubs with a grain of salt, if you will, but take it just the same. After all, when men have died for a pose, there can be no harm in calling it a faith.

With the actual tenets of the Jacobin faith—that is, with the positive beliefs a man must hold to be orthodox—this paper is not concerned. Nor is it concerned with a criticism of the methods employed by the Jacobins to impose themselves on France. All that concerns the philosopher at least as much as the historian. For the present purpose it is enough to record that the Jacobins, even in their regular meetings, did at times do certain things hitherto customarily done in churches. That is, there is traceable in their proceedings a ritual, a religious vocabulary, and the framework of a theology. Much of this, like the revolutionary credo and pater, and the revolutionary martyrs, is crudely borrowed from Roman Catholicism. That a good deal of this was done deliberately and without illusions by leaders desirous of holding together and using the ignorant masses, need not affect the extraordinary impression this borrowing gives of the sheer power of persistence possessed by the immemorial practices of the Church. But it is to be noted that the public celebration of the revolutionary cults, with its processions, its altars, its incense, and its liturgy, is more suggestive of Catholic origins than the proceedings of the Jacobin clubs. It must be evident from the foregoing that the responsive recitations, the hymn-singing, and the sermons recorded in the minutes of the clubs are curiously reminiscent of Protestant ways. So too is the insistence on faith rather than works (upon which it has here been possible to touch but lightly). Finally, the enthusiasm and proselyting zeal, the liking for public confession, has in it a touch that contemporary Englishmen would have recognized as “methodistical”.

To conclude, however, that this is additional evidence for the view that the French Revolution, seen in the large, was a continuation of the Protestant Reformation is perhaps unwarranted. For may it not be possible that the Jacobins acted in some respects like the Protestants because they were faced with similar problems? Certainly it would be hard to maintain that the handful of French Protestants had a direct influence on the clubs. The Jacobins, like the Protestants, were in revolt against the Catholic Church. They were both obliged to revolt in the name of individual liberty; but they were also obliged to assume corporate form in order to exist. That is to say, they were obliged to make the individual ultimately subject to the restraint of the group. But by a suitable ritual—

group singing, sermons addressed to all alike, a common impersonal authority (Bible or Declaration of Rights), public confession—both were able to make that restraint appear to the individual like liberty. Because their methods were the same, however, it does not follow that their ends were the same. Ritual, in the widest sense, is necessary in any society, and the line between political ritual and religious ritual is by no means clear.

For ritual is to the individual evidence of the real existence of the group, evidence on a par with that of other real existences as they show themselves to his senses. Although its content is no doubt important, and although it may affect the imagination of certain individuals, ritual itself is perhaps less important than the ideas, as it certainly is less important than the desires, of those who employ it. The persistence of certain ritualistic devices of organized Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, in the Jacobin clubs is therefore not inconsistent with the existence of real opposition between Christianity and Jacobinism. Clothes are an essential external expression of the fact that man is a social and political animal, but very different men can wear the same clothes. Ritual is but the costume in which men clothe the group. The figure is perhaps more accurate than at first appears. “Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité”, is one of the symbols that hold men true to the Third Republic, as it held them true to the First. But surely there are no more Jacobins, and the France of Poincaré is not the France of Robespierre?

CRANE BRINTON.

## CIVILIZATION IN TRANSIT<sup>1</sup>

A QUARTER of a century ago Edward Eggleston published a volume whose title set the reader thinking before he turned the cover, *The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century*. Americans, then, did not invent their culture, but had to bring its elements from Europe bit by bit, however much they might be modified by transplantation. The thoughtful reader, setting side by side before his mind's eye a picture of the shaggy wilderness the colonists had to conquer and that of the age-old communities they had left behind, might readily presume that, though the individuals were hardly conscious of it, the process which the book would trace was neither short nor simple. What Eggleston considered was not the fundamental economic problem of staying alive in a new country, but the saving and carrying forward of arts and sciences, those refinements and specializations which come from intelligently living together. The transit, quite obviously, was not completed in the seventeenth century, nor is it yet complete; and when a given institution or practice reached the western shores of the Atlantic it yet had far to go. Few men could have realized this more vividly than Eggleston himself, who had spent the years of his young-manhood as a circuit rider in southern Indiana and the farther West and been a herald and exemplar of civilization in the backwoods.

Much has been written of the man with the axe, slowly cutting back the forest, fighting off malaria and mortgages as well as wild beasts and Indians and horse-thieves and establishing American ideals of energy and self-reliance. These men and women of the cabin did the basic work; they cleared the way and built foundations. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they constituted more than nine-tenths of our population. But if all had been of this type who made their way across the sea and across American hills and valleys it would have taken many centuries to build a great civilization. In their wake followed pioneers of ideas and special competence, quite as brave and worthy. As the woodsman-farmer with his axe and hoe took a risk, whether untamed nature would let him live, so these men with the book, the scalpel, the compass, to say nothing of the microscope and test-tube, took a risk, whether the social soil was deep and rich enough to sustain their specialties. How professional competence was transplanted to America makes an interesting study.

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read before the meeting of the American Historical Association at Rochester, Dec. 29, 1926.

Let us begin with a well-known figure, the family doctor. The herbalists and leeches who came over during the first century were certainly not highly skilled, even when they made healing the sick their chief concern and not merely a side-line of the Christian ministry. But their obvious usefulness at last stirred certain native youth to equal or surpass them, not through mere apprenticeship but by resort to the original sources of instruction in Europe. In 1734 young William Bull, of Charles Town, returned with his M.D. from the University of Leyden, and six years later Isaac Dubois, of New York, could claim the same distinction; during the thirty-five years that followed scores of young men undertook the arduous journey with the same ambition, most of them taking up their study in Edinburgh. Two so graduated, Drs. William Shippen and John Morgan, returned to Philadelphia in the seventeen-sixties prepared to set up formal courses of instruction. "The time was ripe", and from their efforts grew the medical school of that city, soon rivalled by a second at King's College in New York. In both cases the staff was largely of British training and the methods closely imitative, even to the printed doctor's thesis, oftentimes in Latin, solemnly defended before the assembled faculty. In time it was loudly boasted, and finally believed, that one might become a first-rate doctor without going to Europe, and by the early years of the nineteenth century these and other medical schools were staffed with their own product. It had taken about two centuries to transfer medical science to America.

The major phenomena of the transit are well illustrated by this type example. Four stages are discerned: first, when foreign practitioners of the specialty are received by the pioneer community; second, when the native youth go to the old country to attend upon instruction; third, when institutions of the special learning are established in the new land, though still dependent on the metropolis for the equipment of their teachers; fourth, when the institutions have sufficiently developed to maintain themselves.

He who applies this key to others of the older professional specialties will be surprised to see how well it works. It enables us to see the present stage of transit in various concerns. In great music we are still to a considerable degree in the first stage—so obviously true is this that certain *virtuosi* sprung from old American village stock, like Mme. Nordica and Ricardo Martin, have thought it added to their personal prestige to Europeanize their names. In pictorial and plastic art we are emerging from the second stage into the third. In university scholarship we reached the fourth stage only at the end of the last century; it was not long ago that a German Ph.D. was

deemed essential to a first-class professor. In dentistry we have *reversed* the process to the third stage; in architecture, in some forms of applied science, and perhaps in business organization, we have reversed it to the second. After these reflections we may, perhaps, propose a generalization applicable to the normal conditions of modern history: professional competence rises through provincial to metropolitan status by the process of reception, attendance, dependent organization, and self-maintenance. If we were to stifle our sense of humor we might even call this a "law". At least it has the two major requisites of a sociological law, in that when baldly stated it is so ponderously cryptic as to be unintelligible, and when explained it is so obvious that it need not have been stated at all.

It must be understood that in this use of the word "provincial" there is no reference of necessity to political dependence. Metropolis and province may change places without regard to politics; ideas flowed from France into England in the Norman days, and from England into France during the first half of the eighteenth century. Sometimes, indeed, the victors adopt the culture of their victims, as when in the phrase of Horace:

Greece, conquered Greece, her conquerors subdued  
And clownish Latium with her arts imbued.

The importation of culture has oftentimes been artificially stimulated by autocrats—assumption by fiat—as is recalled by mention of the names of Peter the Great and Mustapha Kemal, to say nothing of the ministers of Mutsuhito. And the export has been stimulated quite as well. Christian missions have been a most important agency in carrying secular culture abroad as well as religious, if, indeed, the two can be sharply distinguished. Many patriotic Frenchmen, for example, who believe the Catholic faith a silly superstition contribute to its propagation beyond the seas, proud that "backward areas" are thus becoming Gallicized. Publications of hyphenate societies supported at least in part from the old home-land abound in many places. But the process has worked normally without artificial aid. Cataclysms may stimulate it, as when in the seventeen-nineties the *émigrés* from France and Santo Domingo brought French opera, cotillions, and fine cooking to America. Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill, in a discourse delivered in 1821, declared that European wars had been the cause of a quickened transit of books from the Old World to the New, that some distinguished refugees had brought their libraries, that booksellers, deprived of markets at home, had brought their stocks in increasing number: "The storm from the east has wafted, in short, an abundance of precious things to these regions." But,

again, the process can not be generally explained as a concomitant of great disturbance in the metropolis.

The operation in particulars, indeed, seems strikingly accidental, and this not only in the professions but in the trades as well, where, of course, the first stage merges directly into the last. Naturalists tell us that in the islands of the South Sea the wind and flying birds carry spores and seeds from one land-area to another, where if the soil conditions are propitious a plant springs up and a part of the flora is thus reproduced beyond the water. Almost as fortuitous seem the circumstances by which carriers of civilization have been transferred to America.

Take, for example, the case of Samuel Slater, in 1789 an apprentice spinner in the employ of Richard Arkwright's partner in Belper, England. Learning by chance at the age of twenty-one, when his term of service had expired, that there was some curiosity in America as to Arkwright's patents, he resolved to try his fortune overseas. But the statute of 22 George III., chapter 60, framed according to old mercantilist doctrine, forbade the taking out of England of any machinery, models, or mechanical drawings and, indeed, the migration of artisans. So young Slater by a feat of concentration memorized the entire series of wheels and bands and rollers with precise dimensions and, disguised as a countryman, slipped by the English customs officers without their once suspecting the illicit cargo that he carried in his mind. On arriving in New York he heard that Moses Brown, a Rhode Island Quaker, had made some trials at cotton spinning, and wrote him a letter setting forth what he could do. The answer came quite promptly: "If thee canst do this thing, I invite thee to come to Rhode Island, and have the credit of introducing cotton manufacture into America." Thereupon he went to Pawtucket, the one most fortunate place in the country, where water-wheels and ships were found within the same small town, and there he built his frames and did become what Moses Brown had prophesied. The seed had landed on good soil.

It is somewhat puzzling to the reader of industrial statistics to account for the concentration of the brass manufacture in the Naugatuck Valley in Connecticut. There is neither copper, nor zinc, nor coal found in that vicinity, nor is it exceptionally well placed for transportation; why, then, should eighty-five per cent. of America's brass be made there? The answer is, the accident of the carrier. In 1820 an artisan named Crofts left a Birmingham brass-works as an emigrant. On landing in America he drifted about and finally into Waterbury. Here he found some humble manufacturers mak-

ing notions for tin-peddlers, among other things a few brass buttons from old copper kettles and ship bottoms and imported zinc. Hiring out as a hand he showed his new employers better methods, was made a partner, and was sent back to Birmingham some seven or eight times to recruit more skilled workers; on the basis of this skill the brass business was established.

If one works through the records of any branch of human effort in America, one comes upon these carriers, individual men and women more or less conscious of the function they perform. In 1805 one Ferdinand Rudolph Hassler came from Switzerland to Philadelphia, bringing with him some books and mathematical instruments. Through the good offices of Secretary Gallatin, his compatriot, and the interest of President Jefferson, he was given a place as a teacher at West Point, and thus brought the knowledge of analytical geometry to America; he advised the government as to a method of charting the coastal waters, was sent abroad to buy more instruments, and on his return began the United States Coast Survey. The man with the special competence had happened to meet the special need. About the same time, in 1816, there came to the military academy Claude Crozet, who had been schooled at the Polytechnique in Paris—and thus began the study of descriptive geometry in this country; having been an engineer under Napoleon and having had the severe training in higher mathematics that most of our practitioners sadly lacked, after seven years' teaching he became an employee of Virginia and gave the state a system of roads which made it for that time a model. This was the contribution of two Europeans to American mathematics. English books were usually the seeds of early American architecture, but there were human carriers too, that we can recognize, like Richard Upjohn, who in 1829 brought to New England the ideas of the Gothic revival, later to flower in his Trinity Church in New York City. Similar stories could be told for almost every branch of art and science.

But some have transferred to the province parts of the metropolitan environment itself. In 1714 the ablest young thinkers of Connecticut were spinning out dry dichotomies of dry ideas—working knowledge out of their own heads, as the Reverend Samuel Johnson wrote in reminiscence. Then there came to Yale a library which Jeremy Dummer, the colonial agent, had sent from the old country, and for the first time New England came into contact with John Locke and Isaac Newton and modern thought. The effect, as Johnson writes of it, was sudden and tremendous; he himself and other clergymen left Calvinism and stirred the religious thinking of the



Puritan colonies as it had not been stirred before—all because of a library. In 1796, or thereabouts, Dr. Adam Seybert, of Philadelphia, brought back from Europe a cabinet of minerals, the second in the country; it was to this collection that young Benjamin Silliman, of New Haven, brought a little box of stones for comparison and identification, and thus was started on his way to be the first great American master of geology, and it was the elaborate cabinet which Colonel George Gibbs brought across the water that aided Silliman to make Yale the centre of such studies. In 1794 Dr. David Hosack returned with a duplicate collection of plants from the herbarium of Linnaeus, and shortly afterward brought in seeds, slips, and shrubs to form his botanical garden, specimens from which made up the core of the great establishment in Bronx Park; such new advantages made the study of botany by Americans a very different thing from what it had been before.

The fine art of Europe was started westward only when American wealth had sufficiently accumulated to secure it. There were collections as early as the seventeen-nineties, like that brought to Boston by James Swan, and that to Philadelphia by William Hamilton, but they had little cultural value while shut within a few private houses. It was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century, about 1870, to be exact, that private fortune seriously took up the task of educating the public taste by transferring European art to open galleries in this country. Notable collections of Italian primitives and other pieces were given to the New York Historical Society by Thomas Jefferson Bryan and to Yale by James J. Jarves; William W. Corcoran in 1869 endowed a museum in Washington to receive his importations; in 1870 one group of philanthropists organized the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and another the Metropolitan Museum in New York City. Such benefactions though conspicuous for scale were not different in spirit from earlier and more modest transfers like that accomplished by Daniel Wadsworth and his associates for Hartford in 1842 and that by the Reverend A. W. Freeman who brought copies to the Indiana colleges in the 'sixties and 'seventies. By reason of such establishments artists could see something of the legacy of bygone centuries without leaving their own soil. The process was continued by Morgan, Frick, and a host of others, until now, apparently, American purchasers are so much the reliance of those who market the historic art of Europe that collections, like that of Lord Leverhulme, are moved here intact for the auctioneer. Thus, in the transit of civilization one factor has been the removal of environment itself.

The transit as a whole, apparently, was speeded by the Revolution, which for a time so developed the sentiment of nationalism that it irked us to depend on Europe for anything. The audience at the John Street Theatre, New York, on April 16, 1787, applauded the prologue of Royall Tyler's play, *The Contrast*, with its announcement of an innovation:

Exult each patriot heart—tonight is shewn  
A piece which we may fairly call our own;  
Where the proud titles of "My Lord! Your Grace!"  
To humble Mr. and plain Sir give place.  
Our author pictures not from foreign climes  
The fashions or the follies of the times;  
But has confin'd the subject of his work  
To the gay scenes—the circles of New York.

In the introduction to her novel *Dorval, the Speculator* (1801), Madam Wood, of Portland, echoed the same sentiment: "Hitherto we have been indebted to France, Germany, and Great Britain, for the majority of our literary pleasures. Why we should not aim at independence, with respect to our mental enjoyments, as well as our more substantial gratifications, I know not. Why must the amusements of our leisure hours cross the Atlantic? . . . The following pages are wholly American; the characters are those of our own country."

The customary deference and dependence, it is true, were not easily thrown off. In colonial days many whose ancestors had lived here for a hundred years and who themselves had never left our shores still spoke wistfully of England as "home". William Dunlap, the leading theatrical manager at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was not a little irritated by the general distrust of American playwrights; *The Contrast* itself was none too successful. The New York *Columbian*, praising a new play in 1819, was impressed with its own courage: "We advance this opinion without waiting for the fiat of an English audience, or an English review." Fenimore Cooper, the following year, did not dare confess the American authorship of his first novel and sent it out more safely as the work of an anonymous Englishwoman. The highest encomium his later admirers could pronounce was to call him the American Scott; many, however, thought this hardly in good taste, not because it indicated undue deference to British standards, but because the comparison seemed presumptuous. Nevertheless, the national consciousness was coming. Most Americans were extremely sensitive when British critics dismissed us as provincial. The bitter vehemence of C. J. Ingersoll, Robert Walsh, and Paulding, who tried to prove that we

were not, was perhaps in itself a telling bit of evidence that we still were; but, for all that, there was a growing sentiment that it was time for Americans, even in concerns outside of government, to assume "the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitled them".

The science of botany gives an interesting example. Since it did not reach the status of a specialized profession in Europe until far on in the nineteenth century, it can not well be subjected to our "law". Yet it had an interesting process of its own in transition. First came European explorers, like Mark Catesby and Peter Kalm; then, somewhat overlapping, Americans who were the correspondents of great scholars in the old countries, such as John Clayton, who sent collections to Gronovius, and John Bartram, who supplied the English Quaker, Peter Collinson. But the amateur botanists of the United States, mostly doctors of medicine or of divinity, resented foreign domination, especially such European christening of American plants. "We ought", wrote the most distinguished of them, the Reverend H. E. Muhlenberg, in 1811, "we ought to be jealous for our American names. Why should we have the trouble of finding, and other nations the honor?" In this concern, as in many others, patriotism spurred us to catch up with Europe. Sometimes the cultural self-reliance was encouraged by the old country; the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810) and the American Bible Society (1816) were formed because English organizations not unnaturally refused to undertake the administration of American philanthropy. But generally the new nation insisted on becoming as free as possible in every way.

Every circumstance that favored this great enterprise was heartily welcomed. Every discovery of materials in America—of some mineral useful in the arts, some root or bark that could contribute to our pharmacopoeia—was hailed as an amendment to the Declaration of Independence. When in 1810 the first trained veterinary surgeon landed in New York, Americans expressed their gratification that the transit of that science had begun; the naturalization of merino sheep was applauded like a victory on the battle-field. When in 1807 Joel Barlow's epic poem was published in Philadelphia, patriots deplored that it had been found necessary to make the illustrations in England, while the first volume of Alexander Wilson's handsome *Ornithology* was welcomed the following year with special satisfaction because in type, ink, paper, engraving, and binding it was American—everything except the reds and blues used in the coloring of the birds, which had to come from France. But we were not to be made free from

European skill as promptly as we thought. There is now nearing completion the sumptuous six-volume work of Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, which traces the physical growth of New York City, or at least its principal borough, during the three hundred years since its foundation by the Dutch. It is a striking circumstance that much of the paper and the fine engraving has had to be imported from Holland. New York is, then, in some slight degree, still New Netherland.

Our emancipation has indeed been gradual, every step painfully worked out. In our texts of learning we have risen slowly from Noah Webster's spelling book, which supplanted the English Dillworth, to the latest American treatise for advanced collegiate study; our first college text-book in economics was a mere adaptation of the Scottish McCulloch; our American texts in the classics were slightly rearranged from European editions; our greatest achievement in mathematics up to 1830 was Bowditch's translation of Laplace. In 1894 Professor Florian Cajori published a general history of mathematics. The reader notices that he mentions but few Americans—none until the eighteen-seventies, the time of Benjamin Peirce. The patriotic American in his chagrin ascribes this omission to ignorance of what had been achieved on this side of the Atlantic; then he finds that the professor had four years before published a history of mathematics in the United States, a book of four hundred pages. He who well knew the contribution of America in this branch of higher learning could see, when called upon to take the broad view, how negligible it was.

In chemistry, physics, and other fields, despite the rapid strides of recent years, the story is still much the same. In the list of winners of the Nobel Prize for research in pure science America does not figure brightly. It is the office of our Department of Commerce to watch our national expenditures; in a recent address Secretary Hoover pointed out that we are spending ten times as much for cosmetics as for advancing scientific knowledge. This is not true, he observes, of older civilizations. We still have much to learn from Europe; the transit of civilization to America is by no means complete.

Let us turn, however, to follow it from the Atlantic shore. To illustrate our law of transit let us look for a moment at the South. In the colonial period it was more truly a cultural province than the North, which was well advanced in the third stage when the South was in the middle of the second. The Revolution cut it off some-

what from the metropolis across the water and it became a cultural province of the North. First, there were young Northerners who went South to practise their professions, like Abraham Baldwin, the Connecticut lawyer, who is called the "Father of the University of Georgia". The New England Society of Charleston, formed in 1819, had prominent professional men upon its rolls. There were many in later times who thus went South to teach, men like Eli Whitney, William H. Seward, William Ellery Channing, Sergeant S. Prentiss, Amos Kendall, and Jared Sparks. Overlapping with this stage, the Southerners began in much greater number to send their sons to college in the North, and in the early decades of the nineteenth century from ten to thirty per cent. of the attendance at Yale and Princeton was from that section. M. Moreau de Saint Méry, visiting the latter college in 1794, remarked the surprising number of young men from Virginia and the Carolinas. In the professions the tendency was even more impressive; for a long time Georgia led the states outside Connecticut in attendance at the Litchfield Law School, with South Carolina as a close competitor; about half the students at the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania were from the South. When news of the Richmond Theatre fire of 1811 reached Philadelphia, scores of Virginians then enrolled—one incredulous reporter said more than a hundred—met to listen to a memorial sermon.

Meanwhile the third stage had begun. Many collegiate institutions were established, but they were staffed by men of Northern training. In 1804 the president of the University of Georgia was Josiah Meigs, of Middletown, Connecticut, who had studied at Yale and taught there; the president of the College of South Carolina was Jonathan Maxcy, of Attleborough, Massachusetts, who had studied at Brown and taught there; the president of the University of North Carolina was Joseph Caldwell, of Lammington, New Jersey, who had studied at Princeton and taught there. The upland colleges were most of them heavily indebted to Princeton. Jefferson, who contemplated importing directly the whole faculty of the University of Geneva for his institution in Charlottesville, was an exception. Up to 1830, at least, the South was a cultural province of the North. Then came the explosions that began the rift between the sections—the abolition movement, the ominous slave rebellion, the tariff controversy, Webster's reply to Hayne; the South became painfully self-conscious, declared her cultural independence and developed a literature of her own. It will be remembered that J. P. Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, the South's first novel of importance, appeared in 1832, Poe's first story in 1833, Simms's *Guy Rivers* in 1834, and the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1835.

The seaboard South, when political independence was achieved, was a settled country and a fairly well-defined geographical area. But "the West" throughout American history, until recently, has been a relative term, a phenomenon of movement, a degree of settlement; what was the west of one generation was the east of the next, when the procession of the Indian, the hunter, the trader, the cattleman, the pioneer farmer, had passed by and thriving towns and cultivated countryside developed in its wake. In tracing civilization from east to west within our country we follow a transit from an organized society to one of rude beginnings, quite as obviously as in tracing the transit from Europe to America.

It is necessary first to notice, somewhat gloomily, that civilization, generally speaking, declines when it strikes the frontier. This might almost be advanced as the second law of transit. Compare the intellectual tone of New England in the sixteen-forties with that at the end of the century, and the contrast is depressing. We may quote from the unpublished autobiography of President Samuel Johnson, of King's College, writing of his student days in New England about 1714: "The condition of learning (as well as everything else) was very low in these times, indeed much lower than in the earlier time while those yet lived who had had their education in England and first settled the country. These were now gone off the stage and their sons fell greatly short of their acquirements, as through the necessity of the times they could give but little attention to the business of education." The concentrated light of local history reveals this falling off; the late Henry R. Stiles in his minute review of *Ancient Windsor*, for example, observed that the second generation did not fill the places of the fathers. The earlier leaders had been trained in Cambridge, England, the later in Cambridge, Massachusetts—and there was a difference. It is easy to forget the quiddities of the library and drawing-room when living in a forest, and even in the extreme instance to relapse into barbarism as "squaw men".

In 1840, to advance somewhat more than a century in time and less than a thousand miles in space, the percentage of illiteracy in Indiana was fourteen; ten years later it was twenty-two. Appreciation of special training fell apace. Neither the Indiana frontier, nor any other, developed any overpowering respect for the professional man; it must be remembered that it was Andrew Jackson who deprofessionalized the civil service of the country. In 1817 the Indiana legislature, made up of men who had come from older communities, laid down careful rules for examination by the courts of all candidates for the bar; in accordance with procedure slowly worked out by

centuries of experience, the judges in the cases tried before them expounded the law, leaving to the jury the decision of the facts. But the constitution of 1851 permitted any citizen of ordinary decency to practise law, and allowed the jury, however ignorant, to determine what rules of law should be applied. The legal standards for medical practice were likewise relaxed in the frontier environment to make way for the botanical practitioners and other short-schooled doctors. In fact, it must be confessed that medical standards in general declined for a time after their transit to America.

The delicate plant can not immediately take root in a wilderness. Men and women of refinement can not easily become frontiersmen, as the colony of Napoleonic exiles at Demopolis, in Alabama, sadly illustrates. If one such could, he would soon find that his mind was starving. The frontier can not furnish an environment of sympathy. Many Europeans later known throughout the world as great masters have in their youth contemplated a removal to America. Robert Boyle and Comenius thought seriously of following the suggestion of their friend John Winthrop, jr., and crossing to Connecticut, but had they set up in our half-won countryside would one have become the father of modern chemistry and the other the father of modern education? Goethe planned to come, but as an American would he have written *Faust*? Coleridge and Southey had a romantic project of starting new careers in the upper Susquehanna Valley, but had they done so in the seventeen-nineties would they rank to-day among the great figures of literature? Whatever momentum such men might have had upon arrival their mental energy would have spent itself without sympathy, constructive criticism, and the stimulus of competition. The frontier can not furnish support for its own distinguished minds; generally they must reach development in the metropolis. "It is certainly remarkable", observed the writer of an article on Lindley Murray in the *Literary Magazine* for January, 1804, "that the natives of America who have arrived at eminence in arts and letters have done so in a foreign country." Really it was not remarkable at all. Would Benjamin West have become a painter of world renown if he had stayed in Pennsylvania? Would Benjamin Thompson have discovered the laws of heat as a citizen of Woburn, Massachusetts? But we can not too closely limit Omnipotence; miracles may happen and genius flourish in an unpromising environment—there was Franklin, for example.

The frontier is handicapped by lack of leisure and by the migratoriness of its life, as well as its distance from the centres of culture.



But while it forgets its heritage somewhat, its equalitarian standards, resulting from the homogeneity of its population, lead it to diffuse whatever it retains. It stands hopefully for mass education and therefore lays a broad, firm basis for culture as it may be imported and developed. Leisure as it comes is rather evenly distributed and Culture, written with a large C, becomes everybody's business. The woman's club of the modern type was born in the Middle West in the eighteen-fifties.

But this culture, as we have seen, is constantly modified, or, if you will, increased, by contacts with the outside world. There are constantly presented new modes from which the community may choose for imitation. The accidental carriers, the "Typhoid Marys" of ideas, are sometimes effective and sometimes not; probably the carrier's influence is most immediate when he is not much unlike the mass he touches. Indiana was mentioned, a few lines back, as a typical frontier society a hundred years ago, and perhaps the Hoosier State will serve as well as any other for our illustrations. Robert Owen's "boatload of knowledge" that pushed up the Wabash to New Harmony in 1826 was doubtless of considerable consequence to the little world of political theorists, but not much to Indiana. An elaborate history of the state has been written without mentioning the socialistic experiment which happened to take place upon its soil but which had small part in its development. It would be difficult, indeed impossible, to trace the course of the myriad unconscious carriers who were effective. Perhaps most culture, though seldom the highest, has been transmitted by such means. But many of the carriers are conscious, resolute, and constructive, yet fully sympathetic with the frontier; we may call them the civilizers. It has taken splendid courage to assume and carry through this rôle. In the early days it took physique. Could the circuit rider thrash the rowdies, the "scorners", who stood ready to break up the meeting? Could the school-teacher's digestion endure the ordeal of boarding around a neighborhood devoted to a hog-and-hominy cuisine? Could the conscientious doctor survive the forty-mile rides through the wintry forest?

But quite apart from these raw perils patent to the sense, the civilizer always took a risk. Could he hew a way to the light through the thicket of ignorance and prejudice, as the previous pioneer had chopped his way through oak and cypress, or would he succumb and shamefully settle down to live like others in a mental shade? Was the frontier yet ready for him? There comes to mind the case of Baynard R. Hall, the first functionary in the higher education of

Indiana. Indiana wanted him, but only moderately; education was not yet its ruling passion, and it paid him but two hundred dollars for a year's instruction. It was not the money that thrilled him, however, and held him to his purpose of building a state university, but the thought that he was, as he said, "the very first man since the creation of the world to read Greek in the New Purchase". It was pleasing to his vanity, no doubt, to reflect that he was the man—young professional men have often been moved to go west by the thought that they would seem more important there than at home—but I think, as a whole, the civilizers have thought as much of civilization as of themselves. The material compensation probably did not tempt them. The circuit riders got an annual payment of from fifty dollars to two hundred, and that would have been better if it had not so often been paid in "dicker", in beef, corn, butter, potatoes, leather, buckwheat flour, feathers, coon-skins, and the like.

It took courage, too, to carry to the frontier the instruments of civilization such as the printing press. This is not the tool of a man, but of a community; and to sustain it the community must be literate, moderately well-to-do, and with an economic life sufficiently organized to need an advertising medium. There was certainly a risk in taking it to the frontier. The covered wagon is familiar to us all as an epic theme, but behind it have come other arks and vehicles and beasts of precious burden, freighted with as fine a hope and driven by as stout a courage, carrying, indeed, the instruments and records of the human mind. Across the screen of memory toils the Conestoga-wagon team over the Alleghanies, in 1786, to the shabby little river town at the forks of the Ohio, laden with the press, the type, the ink, the paper that were to make up John Scull's *Pittsburgh Gazette*; then from here a short year later there sets out the flat-boat of John Bradford with another rude printing press and some type cut out of dogwood, which, after being jolted into sad confusion on the rough wood-way from the river down to Lexington, does full part to build the fame of that "Athens of the West"; and then in 1804, when seventeen years of effort have driven the pioneer's axe deep into the old Northwest, Elihu Stout, a printer on this paper, supported by the same faith, straps a press and type athwart pack-horses and threads the path to far-away Vincennes. The advance of civilization by *Gazettes*!

In the pageant of the arts and sciences these humble equipages have their place, and the men who guided them. It was a desperate enterprise. Take, for example, the first newspaper in the capital of Indiana, the *Indianapolis Gazette*, printed on a clumsy Ramage press

in 1822, a year after the city's foundation, in a one-room log cabin, "part of which was occupied for a family residence". The nearest post-office was sixty miles away, so that President Monroe's message delivered in the first week of December was prime news in February. The picture can be reproduced a hundred times in American history. The paper-making frontier crossed the Alleghanies not long after that of the press; it was only six years behind in Kentucky and five in the Western Reserve; but it was not till 1820 that the first type foundry was established in the Mississippi Valley. Meanwhile, books were published, especially at Cincinnati. It had taken the printing business in all its essentials thirty-five years to cross the mountains, but in the colonial period it had taken a hundred and thirty-three years to cross the sea.

Herbert Spencer's famous law was that life proceeds from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from the simple to the complex. On the frontier one can actually watch the evolution of social species. In New England during the eighteenth century there were few clergymen, doctors, or lawyers but did some farming; certainly this was true in the early days of Indiana. Consider the case of the Reverend John M. Dickey, in Washington County in 1815, as it is reported: "Mr. Dickey . . . aided the support of his family by farming on a small scale, teaching a singing class, and writing deeds, wills, and advertisements. He also surveyed land and sometimes taught school." But this clergyman-schoolmaster-lawyer was already on the way to specialization, as apparently he did not practise medicine. Seventeenth-century ministers, even important ones like Giles Firmin and Gershom Bulkeley, had cured the body with the soul, exhibiting, as Cotton Mather said, an "Angelical conjunction". It would be interesting for a state historical survey to trace graphically on the map the moving frontier of the professional family doctor in its state, to see how far he was behind the thin edge of the population mass; then to see the line of first throw-off from that stem, the trained apothecary; then the line of the second branch, the dentist; then that of the third, the modern surgeon; then those of successive specialties. History is an enterprise in space as well as in time, and such maps we now recognize as an important part of its records. No one can tell what deductions might be made if such a series were set before a scholar; for the map reveals as well as illustrates. It must be remembered that it was in examining the census maps of 1890 that Professor Frederick J. Turner saw in many phases the significance of the frontier in American history.

We speak as if this march of civilization were the stuff of history alone, yet a journey from one ocean to the other would reveal how it proceeds to-day. Where is the public library frontier in 1927? The picture gallery frontier? The chamber-music frontier? What is passing into New Mexico? Montana? Arkansas? Quite obviously it is not wholly a matter of East and West. In each region throughout the country there is a centre which as a provincial town, relatively speaking, receives its culture, and as a metropolis transmits it in every direction to its countryside. Each province profoundly modifies the culture it receives; each metropolis is affected by its provinces, which throw back challenges as well as contributions in the shape of their ambitious youth, who in their energy and more equalitarian standards tend to break up old stratifications—but all this is another story. It is enough here to remember that civilization is still in transit; as we move about we are all carriers in greater or less degree, and each can say with Tennyson's Ulysses, "I am a part of all that I have met".

DIXON RYAN FOX.

## THE FREE NEGRO IN MISSISSIPPI BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

BETWEEN the two great social classes in ante-bellum Mississippi, the whites and the slaves, there lived a third group composed of free negroes and mulattoes. Though this group was always comparatively small in Mississippi it received much attention from the white people—attention that was usually hostile and was caused by a lively apprehension of the potential dangers that lurked in the existence of this class.

A study of the laws passed by the state legislature for the government and control of the free colored element will afford partial evidence of the hostile and fearful attitude of the white people toward the free negro. Such an examination will also form the background of our knowledge of the social and civil condition of this same group, though this background will have to be modified and supplemented by other facts before our ideas of the status of the free negro will approach reality.

Probably the key to the condition of the free negro and mulatto<sup>1</sup> can be found in the assumption that all colored persons were considered slaves unless the contrary could be proved. This principle was most clearly stated at various times by the Supreme Court of Mississippi. In an opinion of this court it was held that "the laws of this state presume a negro *prima facie* to be a slave".<sup>2</sup> A few years later a lower court was upheld in certain instructions it had given to a jury, namely, that "if the jury believed that the plaintiff was a negro, it was *prima facie* evidence that he was a slave".<sup>3</sup>

This theory is apparent in laws that were passed at various times requiring free colored persons to procure certificates of their unshackled condition. The general substance of these laws can be given briefly.<sup>4</sup> Every free negro was required to present himself at court, county or probate, and give evidence of his non-servile condition. If the proof was satisfactory the court would have the negro supplied with a certified copy of the record. This certificate would

<sup>1</sup> Any person of one-fourth or more negro blood was a mulatto in the eyes of the law of Mississippi. Hutchinson's *Mississippi Code* (1798-1848), p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> *Randall v. the State*, 12 Miss. 349.

<sup>3</sup> *Talbott v. Norager*, 23 Miss. 572. The same principle is also to be found in *Heirn v. Bridault and wife*, 37 Miss. 209, and in *Coon v. the State*, 20 Miss. 249.

<sup>4</sup> Hutchinson, p. 524 (law of June 18, 1822), and p. 533 (law of Dec. 20, 1831).

show the name, color, stature, and any distinguishing features or scars of the recipient, and this bit of parchment was all that stood between the free negro and many possible troubles. The certificate had to be renewed every three years and each time there was a fee of one dollar—in 1831 increased to three dollars. If a white man employed a negro who claimed to be free but who could not produce his certificate, the employer was subject to a fine of ten dollars.<sup>5</sup> And if any captain or master of a steamboat or other river craft employed an alleged free negro who was not supplied with the required certificate, he made himself liable to the very heavy fine of a thousand dollars and in addition a possible prison sentence of from six months to a year.<sup>6</sup>

As for the negro who could not produce his registered bit of paper or parchment, there was the danger of being seized by some unscrupulous white person and either held or sold as a slave.<sup>7</sup> Any alleged free negro who did not possess a certificate might be jailed, and upon failure to establish his freedom in a certain length of time the law required his sale at public auction.<sup>8</sup>

Not only was the free negro's continuation of his unshackled state dependent upon his certificate, but even after he obtained it his troubles were not over. This class was decidedly hampered in its freedom of movement. For instance, a free negro could not go to another county in search of employment without running the risk of being treated as a vagrant, for any free negro found outside his own county would be so treated unless he could show that he had some honest employment at the time.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, no firearms, ammunition, or military weapon could be kept by a free negro without a license which was voidable at any time.<sup>10</sup>

Limitations were also placed on this class in vocational and other directions. It was illegal for a free person of color to sell any goods—whether his own or as agent for another—in any place other than in the incorporated towns of the state.<sup>11</sup> Even in the towns there were some goods that a free negro could not sell, such as groceries and spirituous liquors. The business of keeping a house of entertainment was also closed to this class.<sup>12</sup> The risks that a boat-

<sup>5</sup> Hutchinson, pp. 524-525.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 533.

<sup>7</sup> *Randall v. the State*, 12 Miss. 349.

<sup>8</sup> Hutchinson, p. 525.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 514.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 534.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 948; *Revised Code of Miss.* (1857), p. 255.

master ran in employing a free negro, who did not have a certificate, to some extent militated against the free negro in this industry. It is probable that the interstate movements of this business required strict regulation so far as negroes were concerned, to prevent the possible escape of slaves. One more industry that was closed to all negroes, bond or free, was that of typesetting in a printing establishment. The employer was liable to a penalty of ten dollars a day for each negro he employed.<sup>13</sup> The idea behind this regulation can be better understood if we remember that a very heavy penalty was attached to printing or circulating any literature intended to create unrest and dissatisfaction in the slave population. Death was the penalty for a free negro or mulatto who broke this law.<sup>14</sup>

The civil and political status of the free negro differed from that of his slave brother chiefly in the fact that the slave could not own property while the free negro could.<sup>15</sup> The free negro did not have the right to vote, to serve on a jury, or to be a witness in a case in which a white person was a party. But negroes or mulattoes, whether slave or free, were competent witnesses in criminal cases against negroes or in civil pleas where free negroes or mulattoes should alone be parties.<sup>16</sup> An instance of the general knowledge and understanding of these limitations on the free negroes can be found in the case of *Raby et al. v. Batiste et ux.*<sup>17</sup> It was alleged that a man named Augustine was a mulatto and the settlement of this racial point was necessary in disposing of certain property. In proving that he actually was of mixed blood, witnesses were produced who testified that he did not vote, or act as a juror, and never testified against white men in court.

The Supreme Court of Mississippi experienced considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory norm for deciding certain cases involving the property rights of free negroes.<sup>18</sup> If a negro were legally emancipated in the state the case offered no difficulties for as we have stated above the right of such a person to hold property was settled favorably. But it was a different matter if the free

<sup>13</sup> Hutchinson, p. 948.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 948.

<sup>15</sup> Compare the case of Fanny Leiper, a free negress, who owned a house and lot in Natchez, and was upheld in her ownership by the highest court in the state, with the opinion of the same tribunal in another case, where it held that a slave had "no more right to purchase, hold, or transfer property, than the mule his plough". See *Leiper v. Hoffman et al.*, 26 Miss. 615, and *Hinds et al. v. Brazeale et al.*, 3 Miss. 837.

<sup>16</sup> Hutchinson, p. 515.

<sup>17</sup> 27 Miss. 731.

<sup>18</sup> See the lengthy opinion of the court in *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235.



status had been attained in contravention to the laws and policy of the state. As an example of this the case of Nancy Wells may be stated. Nancy was a mulatto slave who was emancipated by her owner in Ohio in the year 1846. This was entirely legal, but her return to Mississippi a year and a half later was not. She worked as a free servant in the home of her former owner for a short time and then married a negro barber of Jackson, Mississippi, whose name was Watts. The latter was also a free negro. For some reason Nancy left her barber husband and returned to Ohio in 1851. In the meantime Nancy's master died in 1848 and left some property to her. This part of the will was contested and it finally became necessary for the highest court in the state to decide whether the bequest should be delivered to her. In a lengthy and exceedingly interesting opinion in April, 1859, the court ruled against Nancy.

The Dred Scott decision, the difference between national and state citizenship, and the application of international comity to the relation existing between the sovereign states of the Union were some of the interesting points discussed in this case. Briefly, the court held as follows. Following the line of argument presented in the Dred Scott case, an African has never been a citizen of the United States. On the other hand, any one of the sovereign states may confer state citizenship upon a negro; but a sister state has an equal right to decide what will be the effect of this act within her territories. The laws of one state having no extraterritorial operation in another state, the enforcement of these laws in the latter state depends on the comity of nations. But international comity does not require the enforcement of the act of a foreign state if this act is contrary to the laws or policy of the first state. Since the policy of Mississippi was to preserve slavery and to prevent emancipation, the action of Ohio in emancipating Nancy Wells was not binding in the state of Mississippi. Since this meant that Nancy was still considered a slave by the state of Mississippi, she could not, so far as that state was concerned, possess any property.

Part of this argument was reinforced by a different line of reasoning, which shows the venom that was creeping into the feeling of Mississippi toward the Northern states. The court practically stated that international comity no longer existed between Mississippi and Ohio, because the latter was constantly committing acts that were against the policy of Mississippi by freeing slaves from the latter state, making them citizens of Ohio, and even conniving at the escape of slaves.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Mitchell *v.* Wells, 37 Miss. 235.

This interesting subject might be pursued at much greater length. Only one other instance will be given, that of a mulatto named Marcelette Marceau who was the widow of one Chatteau. She had once been a citizen of Louisiana and had been illegally brought into Mississippi from New Orleans. Though she had probably never seen Africa, the Mississippi courts held that she was a citizen of Africa. Since international law applied only between civilized nations and Africa was not in this category, the comity of nations would not operate in her behalf. As she had entered Mississippi contrary to the laws of the state she was classed as an alien enemy *prohibita* and was entitled to none of the privileges of a citizen.<sup>20</sup>

These cases, decided shortly before the Civil War, show the handicaps of the free colored race in their largest proportions. Earlier cases had not been decided so completely against negroes in the same class as those given above.<sup>21</sup> And through this whole discussion it must be remembered that the right of a free negro to acquire or hold property was never questioned, provided the free status had been attained within the state of Mississippi by some legal method. It was only where a free negro illegally entered the state or was emancipated in another state that this right was denied, and even in this latter case it was not uniformly withheld.

There were several ways by which the class of free negroes and mulattoes was increased. It was unconstitutional for a slave to be set free without the consent of the owner unless some distinguished service had been rendered by the slave to the state.<sup>22</sup> No case has been found where a slave was freed under this clause of the state constitution.

The basic provision concerning the emancipation of slaves occurred in a law that was passed June 18, 1822. According to this act, slaves might be manumitted by will or by a properly witnessed and recorded document, if it could be proved to the satisfaction of the state legislature that some meritorious act had been done by the slave for the owner or for the state. A special act of the legislature was necessary to validate each proposed emancipation.<sup>23</sup> The annoyance of getting such a special bill passed probably acted as a deterrent in some cases. It was also doubtless difficult to persuade

<sup>20</sup> Heirn *v.* Bridault and wife, 37 Miss. 209.

<sup>21</sup> Leiper *v.* Hoffman *et al.*, 26 Miss. 615; Shaw *v.* Brown, 35 Miss. 246; Harry and others *v.* Decker and Hopkins, 1 Miss. 36.

<sup>22</sup> Even then the master had to be paid a full equivalent of the slave so emancipated. See constitution of Mississippi of 1817, art. VI., sec. 1, repeated in the constitution of 1832. Hutchinson, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 523.

the legislature to a belief in the meritorious act of the slave. It is interesting to note that in the year following the passage of this act, that is, in 1823, only three negroes were granted their freedom under the terms of this law. Petitions were introduced requesting the emancipation of about twice this number.<sup>24</sup> Generally speaking, the legislature granted such petitions very sparingly. For example, in 1826 the legislature was requested to pass bills manumitting twelve slaves. None of these passed. Similarly, five years later petitions were introduced praying the emancipation of at least ten slaves, and here again the legislature was adamant.<sup>25</sup>

Although only a minority of the proposed emancipations were allowed to take effect, the legislature did empower some of the petitioners to free certain specified slaves. In practically all cases security had to be given that the ex-slave would be of good behavior and would not become a public charge. Among the several instances that could be cited of slaves set free by petition of the owner and a special act of the legislature,<sup>26</sup> we find that Lewis and Nancy, slaves of ex-Governor David Holmes, were started on their path of freedom by the will of the ex-governor.<sup>27</sup> Another case of emancipation that deserves to be remembered can be best told by quoting the act of the legislature.

*An Act, to emancipate Bill, a person of color.*

Whereas, William Smith, of the county of Hancock, was in his early childhood, by the dispensations of Heaven, deprived of his parents and thrown on the cold charities of the world, with no other patrimony than the negro slave hereinafter mentioned, who by his unwearied industry and fidelity, sustained his young master through this helpless season of life, and enabled him to acquire an education adequate to discharge the various duties of a free citizen, and in addition hath accumulated for his master property sufficient to enable him to obtain an easy competency: Therefore, on the petition of the said Smith,

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Mississippi, in General Assembly convened,* That William Smith, of the county of Hancock, be, and he is hereby authorized to emancipate from the bonds of slavery, his negro man named Bill, saving the rights of creditors, and provided that the said Smith shall give bond to the state of Mississippi, with good and sufficient surety, to be approved by the county court of said county, and recorded by the clerk thereof, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars conditioned for the good behavior of the said Bill, and that he shall not become a public charge.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Journal of the General Assembly of Mississippi*, 1823, *passim*.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 1826 and 1831, *passim*.

<sup>26</sup> *Laws of the State of Mississippi*, 1817, p. 205; 1828, pp. 15, 46-47; 1833, pp. 119-120.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 1833, pp. 125-126.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 1827, pp. 56-57.

Since we are here interested only in the free colored and mulatto population of Mississippi, it is not necessary to discuss the laws governing the emancipation of slaves who were removed from the state. Some were returned to their native land, Africa.<sup>29</sup> Others were removed to free states and there emancipated. Before 1842 there was very little objection and no legal obstacle to manumission under the condition that the negro stay outside the state after obtaining his freedom.<sup>30</sup> But though there was up to 1842 no legal objection to a slave-owner taking any number of slaves to Ohio or some other free state and there giving them their freedom, it was illegal at all times for these freedmen to return to Mississippi.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, this law was sometimes broken, and those who were freed outside the state and then returned were examples of a second, although illegal, method of increasing the free negro population of the state. Instances of this can be given, but it is difficult to give any estimate of the total number of infractions. Those who most successfully evaded the law received the least attention. One rather notorious case was that of a slave-owner who carried with him to Ohio a negro woman and her son, there freed them and brought them back to Mississippi with him, and willed all his property to the boy. The courts held that the negress and her son were still slaves,<sup>32</sup> but the fact remains that to all intents and purposes they were free negroes from the time they returned from Ohio to the day their former master died. They would probably have so continued had not the property involved brought the case before the court.<sup>33</sup>

Rarely, a slave would be brought into Mississippi whose term of slavery was limited to a definite period of time. For instance, Mary Kenny, of Kentucky, willed that a slave by the name of Sam should be free when he became thirty-one years old.<sup>34</sup> If such a will had been made in Mississippi it would have had no force, unless the legislature had also passed a special act. Yet this same will, made in Kentucky and in accordance with the laws of that state, would operate to procure the freedom of Sam.<sup>35</sup> Cases such as these would give additional increments to the free colored population.

<sup>29</sup> J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a Province, Territory, and State*, pp. 388-391.

<sup>30</sup> Hutchinson, p. 538 (law of Feb. 26, 1842); *Leech v. Cooley*, 14 Miss. 93; *Leiper v. Hoffman et al.*, 26 Miss. 615.

<sup>31</sup> Hutchinson, pp. 524 and 537; *Hinds et al. v. Brazealle et al.*, 3 Miss. 837; *Leiper v. Hoffman et al.*, 26 Miss. 615.

<sup>32</sup> *Hinds et al. v. Brazealle et al.*, 3 Miss. 837.

<sup>33</sup> For a similar instance see *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235.

<sup>34</sup> *Sam, colored, v. Fore*, 20 Miss. 413.

<sup>35</sup> A similar case will be found in *Roach v. Anderson*, 28 Miss. 234.

Still another mode of illegally adding to the size of the free colored class was simply to turn a slave loose, without either the prerequisite act of the legislature to sanction it, or the illegal ruse of first freeing the slave on free soil and then allowing the slave to return to the state. An interesting commentary on this state of affairs is to be found in a letter to a Natchez paper. The letter, which follows, was signed "Civis".

Agreeably to the provisions of the act of December 20, 1831, still in full force, no negro or slave is permitted to be manumitted or set free, and still remain in the State, without the special action of the legislature of this State. All manumissions made otherwise are null and void, unless the slave so manumitted leave the State, never to return: and as soon as he returns, by that very act, he forfeits his freedom and becomes again liable as a slave, to the creditors of the last owner, by whom, it is pretended, he is manumitted. In this condition we believe are at least fifty negroes and mulattoes now in Adams County, who affect to be free. It is a matter of notoriety, that within the last five years, a large number of slaves in this county have been thus illegally manumitted; and after having gone up the river, set foot upon the soil of Ohio or some other free or abolition State, received from them certain certificates, which are called "free papers"; forthwith they return to Mississippi, to reside as "free people of color". In many instances, we believe, the Probate Courts disregarding, or misapprehending the spirit and intention, as well as the plain letter of the law, in such cases, have granted to them certificates as required by the act of December 20, 1831, after having taken bonds and security as prescribed by that act. In this they have defeated the very object of the law, *viz*: the non-accumulation of free negroes in the State.

Such as do return, are liable under the law, to be taken up and sold by the sheriff as slaves.<sup>36</sup>

Another instance of this way of adding to the free colored population should be given at some length because of the light it throws on several phases of the free negro question. An Adams County slave, Fanny Leiper, was set free by her master some time before the year 1834. Her owner went through none of the legal requirements in this matter. He simply ceased to command her as a slave and gave her her freedom, informally, if the expression may be used, but, so far as he was concerned, completely.

Fanny was a mulatto of considerable ability, for she bought a lot in Natchez in 1834 for \$175, and within two years she had built and paid for a house valued at \$1500. There she resided for about ten years, until 1845, when she moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. She did not sell her property, but appointed R. S. Hammitt of Natchez to be her agent in renting the house. But Fanny was not long in her new surroundings before she had to return to Natchez because of a dispute that had arisen concerning the house and lot.

<sup>36</sup> Natchez *Mississippi Free Trader*, May 13, 1841.

When the last payment had been made on the house in 1836, an attorney had advised Fanny to have the deed drawn jointly to herself and some white person. This advice was given, and in fact followed, because of the strong feeling in the state at that time against the free colored class. So Fanny had the deed drawn jointly to herself and to a Mr. Joseph Winscott, a river steamboat engineer who was occasionally in Natchez, but whose residence was in New Orleans. Though Fanny had the deed framed in this way, she very shrewdly took no occasion to inform Winscott of this. However, she several times discussed the whole affair with Malvina Hoffman, her next-door neighbor, who was also a free woman and colored.

After Fanny's departure to Cincinnati, Malvina took the part of the villain. She told Winscott of the joint deed to the property, and in conjunction they fraudulently secured the keys to the house from Fanny's agent, rented the house, and divided the spoils.

When Fanny returned and brought suit for her property Malvina and Winscott answered that Fanny had never been legally emancipated, and was therefore a slave and incapable of holding property. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the state, where Fanny was entirely upheld in her plea. In the decision of the court it was held that since Fanny's master recognized her as a free person, and since she had moved to Ohio—apparently a *bona fide* removal—she was really a free person and capable of holding property. After stating that "the conduct of the defendant Winscott, as it appears from his answer, would commend him as little to favorable consideration in a court of equity, as in good morals; and the position of the defendant Hoffman does not appear to be much more commendable", the premises were ordered returned to Fanny, together with any rents and profits that had accrued since it was out of her control.<sup>37</sup>

Free negroes occasionally came into Mississippi from other states, although this was against the public policy of the state as expressed in her laws. The re-enactment of any law with increased penalties implies that infractions of the law had taken place, and the law of 1822<sup>38</sup> which made it unlawful for free negroes or mulattoes to immigrate to Mississippi was strengthened and the penalties made more rigorous in 1842.<sup>39</sup> One instance of the breaking of this law we have already mentioned, namely the case of Marcellette Marceau. Certain phases of the affair should be mentioned here because of their bearing on this law and because they illustrate public opinion in this regard.

<sup>37</sup> Leiper v. Hoffman *et al.*, 26 Miss. 615.

<sup>38</sup> Hutchinson, p. 524.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 537-538.

It will be remembered that Marcelette was a mulatto who had been a citizen of Louisiana and had illegally immigrated to Mississippi. Though her skin was not much darker than that of a white person, her hair was kinky and she generally kept it covered. It might be stated that if her character was at all a fair example of that of her class, the law against the immigration of free colored people into Mississippi could hardly have been too harshly enforced. But the law was not enforced at all in her case. Had it been, she should have received thirty-nine lashes and been ordered to leave the state under pain of sale into slavery. Instead she lived on terms of equality with certain white people and eventually had three or four slaves bequeathed to her. The court, however, did not allow her to possess this estate. But here is one of the remarkable facts in this affair. Although the people of Pass Christian, where Marcelette lived, seriously considered ejecting her from the community, no steps seem to have been taken to prosecute her under the law forbidding the immigration of free persons of color to Mississippi.<sup>40</sup>

Occasional cases can be found in which a free negro was allowed to remain in the state in spite of the fact that he could not meet the usual legal requirements. Special acts of the legislature permitted this from time to time.<sup>41</sup> The reason for this leniency is usually not stated, but in one case we find that permission to remain in the state was given to "a free man of color, named Alexander Reed, in consideration of services rendered by him in the war with Mexico".<sup>42</sup>

Since legal emancipation was difficult to consummate, and illegal manumission was beset with dangers, at least one attempt was made to provide virtual freedom but to leave the legal status of the slave unchanged. The will of Lewis Weathersby endeavored to do this for Tom and Lucy, who are mentioned in the following lines.

I give and bequeath to my son Ludovick, my servants Tom and Lucy, and their children, Matilda, Sylvester, Andrew, and Dicey, in trust and under the following conditions, viz.: I do hereby enjoin it upon my said son, to make the said slaves as comfortable in life as possible; that he furnish them and their children with a house separate from others; that he provide a horse, farming utensils, and a small tract of land for their use; that he sell their crops, furnish them with a milch cow and two hundred pounds of sugar, and one hundred pounds of coffee, yearly; and that, in consideration of these things, he shall require of them reasonable service, and should Tom and Lucy at any time be able to raise a sum of money sufficient to compensate said Ludovick, say three hundred dollars for each

<sup>40</sup> *Heirn v. Bridault and wife*, 37 Miss. 209. The only other case of what might be called social equality between whites and mulattoes is to be found in *Shaw v. Brown*, 35 Miss. 246.

<sup>41</sup> *Laws of Mississippi*, 1828, pp. 61-62; 1833, pp. 131-132; 1854, p. 295.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, December, 1856-February, 1857 (adjourned session), p. 104.



of their daughters, Matilda and Dicey, then he shall give up said Matilda and Dicey to said Tom and Lucy, to serve and comfort them in their old age.<sup>43</sup>

When this case was brought before the courts it was held that the bequest to Ludovick was valid, but that the attendant conditions were not binding.

A final mode by which the free colored class in Mississippi increased was through children of free parents. The child of a free negro or mulatto woman was of course free.

By way of summary, the free negro element in Mississippi could be legally recruited by emancipation within the state in the way provided by act of the legislature, by the birth of a child to free parents, by the lapse of the term of servitude of a slave coming from another state, or occasionally under other conditions when legalized by special act of the legislature. The class could be illegally augmented by a master freeing his slave without going through the procedure required by law, and by the immigration of free negroes into the state—whether *bona fide* free negroes, or Mississippi slaves who had been taken to a free state, there manumitted and then returned to the state.

In spite of the various ways of increasing the free negro class within the state of Mississippi, this element was never large. In the year immediately preceding the induction of Mississippi into the Union, there were 235 free persons of color within the state.<sup>44</sup> In 1860 the number of this same class was 773. However, the growth of this element in Mississippi's population was not gradual and regular, and the number of free persons of color at the chronological terminals of the period 1816 to 1860 can not be taken as the extreme limits of the size of this group. Reference to the attached table <sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Weathersby et al. v. Weathersby*, 21 Miss. 685.

<sup>44</sup> Mississippi became a state in 1817. The number of free negroes, *i.e.*, 235, can be found in the *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register* for 1917, p. 66. It should be noted that the totals given on that page are for the entire Mississippi Territory of that time, which comprised the present states of Mississippi and Alabama. In several instances these totals have been erroneously quoted as applicable to the present boundaries of the State of Mississippi.

<sup>45</sup> Year	No. of free colored.	Percent. of change.
1800	182	—
1810	240	+ 31.86
1820	458	+ 90.83
1830	519	+ 13.31
1840	1,366	+ 163.19
1850	930	— 31.91
1860	773	— 16.87

This table, with the exception of the last line, is from the *Census of 1850*. The number of free colored in 1860 is given in the *Census of 1860* (Population).

shows that the free negro class increased from 240 in the year 1810 to 458 a decade later. This increase was evidently considered alarming, for in 1822 laws were passed prohibiting emancipation except by a special act of the legislature, prohibiting the immigration of free negroes into the state, and circumscribing the life and activity of those within the commonwealth.<sup>46</sup> The result of these laws was to diminish the increase in this class between 1820 and 1830 to only 13.3 per cent. In the previous decade it had been 90.8 per cent.

But between 1830 and 1840 the enforcement of these laws must have been relaxed, although there was a law passed in 1831 requiring all free negroes between the ages of 16 and 50 to leave the state within ninety days on pain of being sold into slavery for five years.<sup>47</sup> But the force of this was largely taken away by the proviso that all who could prove to the probate court that they were good characters and not in the class of undesirables would be given a license allowing them to remain.

The number of free negroes and mulattoes reached the high-water mark of 1,366 in the year 1840, an increase of 163.2 per cent. in ten years. Again it was felt necessary to enact laws to limit the increase of this class, and in 1842 these laws were forthcoming. If a free negro entered Mississippi from some other state it was required that he be whipped and ordered to depart within twenty days on pain of being sold as a slave.<sup>48</sup> This bit of anti-slavery legislation seems to have been efficacious for in 1850 there was evident an actual decrease of 31.9 per cent. since the last census, and in 1860 the number of free negroes and mulattoes had further decreased to 773.

The comparatively small increase in the size of this group from 1800 to 1860 is an indication of the hindrances placed about their class. In this period the free negro part of the population increased only 324.72 per cent. while the total population of the state grew 8,841.3 per cent.<sup>49</sup> A variety of reasons can be adduced to explain the slow growth of this part of Mississippi's population. On the one hand, the prohibition of the immigration of free negroes operated against any great increase of this class, and on the other hand, the difficulties incident to manumitting slaves helped to keep the number of free negroes small. Furthermore, restrictive and hostile legislation was doubtless the cause of the departure of some members of the class to other regions, and a few were probably resold into slavery because of infractions of the laws of the state.

<sup>46</sup> Hutchinson, pp. 524-525.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 533.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 537.

<sup>49</sup> *Census of 1860* (Recapitulation).

A final cause of the slow growth of this class lay in the occasional voluntary return of a free negro into slavery. In a single session of the legislature of Mississippi bills were passed to enable three negroes to effect this change of status. Jim Wall, a negro, was empowered to become the slave of Daniel Williams, both of whom were residents of Wilkinson County. In Tallahatchie County, William Webster was authorized to attach himself as a slave to Dr. Atherald Ball. In the third instance both of the parties were women of Hinds County. Ann Mataw, a free woman of color, was given the right to become the slave of Elizabeth G. Purdom. The difference in the terminology of these acts is small. One of these we will quote because of the light it sheds on the procedure used in voluntarily assuming the rank of a slave.

*An Act for the relief of James Wall, a free man of color.*

Section 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi*, That Jim Wall, a free man of color, of the county of Wilkinson, be, and he is hereby authorized, to become the slave for life of Daniel Williams of said county, and for that purpose may appear before the police court of said county, by petition or otherwise, setting forth his desire to become such slave.

Section 2. *Be it further enacted*, That should the said Daniel Williams appear in said police court, at the time of said application by the said Jim Wall, or at any time thereafter, and signify his assent to become the master of the said Jim Wall, it shall be the duty of said police court to order and decree the said Jim Wall to be the slave for life of the said Daniel Williams, as fully to all intents and purposes as other slaves are held in fee simple, giving to the said Daniel Williams as full, and complete and absolute ownership of the said Jim Wall as if the said Jim Wall had been born the slave of the said Daniel Williams, subject to all the laws of descent and distribution in this State.

Section 3. *Be it further enacted*, That this act take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

Approved, February 11, 1860.<sup>50</sup>

In regard to the habitat of the free colored people of Mississippi, there are two outstanding points. In the first place, a disproportionate number of this class lived in the southwestern corner of the state, and in the second place, a rather large proportion were to be found in the cities and towns.

In 1816, one year before Mississippi became a state of the Union, there were fourteen counties in the territory that is now contained within the bounds of the state. An east and west line marking off the southern quarter of the state would include twelve of these counties. The other two, Claiborne and Warren, bordered the Mississippi River and extended a little north of this imaginary line.

<sup>50</sup> *Laws of Mississippi*, 1859-1860, pp. 243, 259, and 352.

It is interesting to note that Adams County, in almost the extreme southwestern corner of the present State of Mississippi, contained over half of the free negroes within the territory.<sup>51</sup> Half of the counties did not have more than one free person of color.

In 1840, which marks the highest number of free colored persons in Mississippi at any of the census years, the problem was essentially a local one. There were at this time in the state 1,366 free negroes and mulattoes and 572 of these could be found in only four of the fifty-six counties.<sup>52</sup> These four counties were in the southwest and all bordered the Mississippi River. Adding a few of the adjoining counties, we find that considerably more than half of the free negroes within the state lived in the relatively small area that we have just mentioned.<sup>53</sup> It is thus evident that the problem created by this class was of peculiar concern to these few counties. The difficulty was further aggravated by the fact that in this section of the state the slaves were considerably more numerous than the whites.<sup>54</sup> Anything that might cause unrest among the slaves was a source of grave apprehension to their owners, and it was felt that free negroes did cause some trouble.

A second fact of some interest in regard to the habitat of the free colored people is the relatively large number of these people who lived in the towns and cities of the state. In 1840 the two counties in Mississippi with the largest number of this class were Adams and Warren. The total number of free persons of color in the first named county was 283, and 207 of this number were residents of the city of Natchez. In comparing this with the whites and slaves, we find that ten per cent. of the slaves in Adams County lived in the city of Natchez, 57 per cent. of the whites, and 73 per cent. of the free colored. Almost the same state of affairs existed in Vicksburg in this year. Vicksburg contained 71 of the 104 free persons of color residing within the county.<sup>55</sup> Ten years later, when Adams County was the home of 258 free colored persons, only 45 of the number lived outside the bounds of Natchez. The remaining 213 were city dwellers.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> The number of free negroes in these counties was 129, while there were 235 in the entire state. See note 44. Also, see map of Mississippi in 1816 in the *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register* for 1908, p. 387.

<sup>52</sup> These four counties were Adams, Jefferson, Claiborne, and Warren.

<sup>53</sup> Compare the *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (1840) with a map of Mississippi.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> These comparisons are based on statistics contained in the *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (1840).

<sup>56</sup> *Compendium of Census of 1850.*

No data have been found on which to draw conclusions regarding the place of residence of free negroes in other counties in the state. The laws that we have mentioned <sup>57</sup> prohibiting free negroes from vending any goods outside the limits of towns would, however, probably have some effect in the direction of keeping this class within the urban sections of the state.

Some information has already been presented concerning the life and occupations of several members of the free colored class. It is well at this point to supplement this information. A good many members of this element of society attained a position well above that of the lowest economic plane of life. For example, in 1830 there were 519 free persons of color in Mississippi, and seventeen of this number were not only themselves free, but even owned slaves. Including the families of free negro slave-owners, 45, or about one-eleventh of all the free negroes in the state, were either slave-owners or members of a slave-owning family. From one to seventeen was the range in the number of negroes possessed by colored masters, and the average size of these estates was about four and one-third slaves.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Hutchinson, p. 534.

<sup>58</sup> The following table is an excerpt from "Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830", in *Journal of Negro History*, IX. 65, and is the list for the State of Mississippi.

<i>Adam's County</i>	<i>Slaves.</i>	<i>Total of slaves and family.</i>	<i>Age group of owner.</i>
Winn, George.....	16	17	55-100
<i>City of Natchez</i>			
Carey, Robert M.....	2	4	10-24
Miller, Jas.....	5	12	24-36
Battles, Harriet.....	1	3	24-36
Gilson, Sam.....	5	6	10-24
<i>Claiborne County</i>			
Willis, Mary.....	1	5	36-55
Bell, Henry.....	4	5	36-55
Butler, Hanibal.....	1	5	36-55
Martin, Samuel.....	1	7	36-55
Simpson, Gloster.....	2	5	36-55
Harris, Hardy.....	1	6	55-100
Holly, Christopher.....	3	5	55-100
Moore, David.....	5	6	24-36
<i>Hancock County</i>			
Asmard, Charles, Sr.....	3	4	100-
Benoit, Bernard, Sr.....	6	8	55-100
Perkins, William P.....	17	18	10-24
<i>Warren County</i>			
Miller, Elisha.....	1	3	24-36

One of those listed in the census of 1830 as a free negro slave-owner was Christopher Holly of Claiborne County. In the year just mentioned he possessed three slaves. Shortly before 1859 he died and left eight heirs, three of whom were minors who wished to sell their shares in the estate and move to another state. A special act was passed by the legislature to enable them to do this, and the proviso was attached that the shares should not be sold for less than twenty-one hundred dollars each—a figure that indicates that the estate of Christopher Holly was of considerable size.<sup>59</sup>

Samuel Gilson, who lived in Natchez, was another colored master in 1830. At that date his slaves were five in number. Fourteen years later Gilson carried his slaves, now increased by one addition, to Cincinnati, Ohio, and there emancipated them and settled them on free territory.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to farming, it is very probable that many free negroes found a means of livelihood on the various types of river craft.<sup>61</sup> At least two others were barbers. Watts, a colored barber of Jackson about 1848, has already been mentioned. The leading barber at Natchez in the years just before the Civil War was a free negro named McCarey. As a side line, he taught a school, the pupils consisting of the offspring of others of his own class. His own children attended this school, and one of his sons, William, was subsequently sheriff of Adams County in the Reconstruction period.<sup>62</sup> Free negroes were occasionally found doing odd jobs of one sort or another such as cutting wood to be used at the capitol during the meeting of the state legislature.<sup>63</sup>

Numerous laws have been mentioned in this paper that show the circumscribed condition of the free negroes. Since these laws were made by the white people of the state, it is evident that the latter class did not look on the free colored people of the state with any favor. Regardless of the character of those within this class, it was felt by the whites that the mere existence of a free negro class operated as a perpetual reminder to the slaves of their own servile condition, and further suggested to them the possibility of a change from this state. We do not have to depend entirely on the laws of the state to show the feeling of the white people against the free negroes; for the same state of mind was exhibited in private letters

<sup>59</sup> *Laws of Mississippi, 1859-1860*, pp. 276-277.

<sup>60</sup> *Journal of Negro History*, IX. 42.

<sup>61</sup> This seems evident from the rather frequent laws, already mentioned in this paper, regulating the employment of free negroes on boats.

<sup>62</sup> *Journal of Negro History*, II. 356.

<sup>63</sup> *Laws of Mississippi, 1846*, p. 169; *ibid.*, 1854, p. 182.

and in newspapers. The following lines are from an unsigned letter to a Wilkinson County paper. The entire letter is rather ungrammatical. "There can be no doubt but that the sable African who has acquired his freedom in the mode sanctioned by the laws of a sovereign state, has rights which belongs not to the slave, and that they exert a most pernicious influence on the slave population wherever it can be felt, it is a fact which cannot be controverted." The free negroes are further referred to as "this useless and dangerous portion of our population".<sup>64</sup>

In 1831 we find Dr. John Ker, a prominent citizen of Natchez, in writing to his friend, Major Isaac Thomas, of Louisiana, stating as an incontestable proposition that "the free colored people are more injurious to society than the same number of slaves, and their removal must therefore confer a greater benefit. The number of free colored people must inevitably increase in a progressive ratio".<sup>65</sup>

In the 1831 session of the legislature of Mississippi there was "presented a petition from sundry citizens of Adams County, praying that a law may pass for the absolute and unconditional removal of free negroes from this state".<sup>66</sup> These were no uncertain words! Although the law asked for was not forthcoming, a bill was passed, which we have already mentioned,<sup>67</sup> that might have partially accomplished this end had it been rigidly enforced. As we have shown above it was not well enforced, but the legislature evidently expected that it would be efficient for an amendment was proposed that "it shall be the duty of the Governor, to transport all free negroes who may be banished under the provisions of this act, to the colony of Liberia, in Africa, at the expense of the county from which such free negroes may be banished".<sup>68</sup>

The case of Fanny Leiper has already been told and in this trial it was stated as a matter of general knowledge, that about 1836, "there was a great spirit to remove from the State all free persons of color".<sup>69</sup> And we have also shown that the legislature passed adversely upon most of the petitions presented to it which asked for the emancipation of slaves. At one time, when a petition of this nature was before the legislature, it was moved that it be amended,

<sup>64</sup> Woodville (Miss.) *Republican*, Aug. 4, 1827.

<sup>65</sup> Franklin L. Riley, "A Contribution to the History of the Colonization Movement in Mississippi", in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IX. 348. This letter was dated June 25, 1831.

<sup>66</sup> *Journal of the General Assembly of Mississippi*, 1831, *House Journal*, p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> See note 47.

<sup>68</sup> *Jour. of Gen. Assem. of Miss.*, 1831, *House Jour.*, p. 252.

<sup>69</sup> *Leiper v. Hoffman et al.*, 26 Miss. 615.



"that the said persons of color named herein, shall be removed from within the state, and not return thereto, otherwise this act to be null and void"; and it was further proposed to extend this to include "all which have heretofore been emancipated, or which may be hereafter emancipated". Neither the original bill nor the amendments passed.<sup>70</sup>

To give one more reference on this subject, Claiborne, in his *History of Mississippi*, states that the legislature limited the emancipation of negroes who were to remain in the state because "the residence of an intermediate class between the slave and the owner had been found incompatible".<sup>71</sup>

While nothing has been found to invalidate the conclusions we have reached regarding the sincere dislike and fear that the free negro class inspired in the hearts of the slave-owners of Mississippi, this subject can not be left here without giving an incomplete picture. It was the *class* that was feared and not the *individuals* that formed it. For example, we have cited the petition of certain citizens of Adams County, presented to the legislature in 1831, requesting the "absolute and unconditional removal of free negroes from this state".<sup>72</sup> Twelve years later, at the request of this same county and Warren County, the board of police of any county in the state was given full power to license free persons of color to reside in the county on proof of good character and on condition that a majority of the citizens desired it.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, individual members of the class were sometimes the recipients of property willed to them by white people of the state.<sup>74</sup> The numerous petitions presented to the legislature asking for permission to emancipate slaves would have largely increased the number of the free colored class if that body had granted them all; and it is worthy of notice that many of these emanated from the very counties that were most troubled by too many free negroes.<sup>75</sup> Another argument to uphold the view that we have stated is to be found in the readiness with which slave-owners were willing to grant freedom to their slaves. While some of these

<sup>70</sup> *Jour. of Gen. Assem. of Miss.*, 1825, *House Jour.*, pp. 102-103, 106, and 121. Another case is reported in this same *Journal*, p. 110.

<sup>71</sup> Claiborne, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

<sup>72</sup> *Jour. of Gen. Assem. of Miss.*, 1831, *House Jour.*, p. 7.

<sup>73</sup> Hutchinson, p. 540. It should be remembered that these two counties had the largest free negro population of any counties in the state.

<sup>74</sup> *Hinds et al. v. Brazealle et al.*, 3 Miss. 837; *Luckey et al. v. Dykes et al.*, 10 Miss. 60; *Leech v. Cooley*, 14 Miss. 93; *Hairston et al. v. Hairston et al.*, 30 Miss. 276; *Barksdale v. Elam et al.*, 30 Miss. 694; *Shaw v. Brown*, 35 Miss. 264; *Heirn v. Bridault and wife*, 37 Miss. 209; and *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235.

<sup>75</sup> *Jour. of Gen. Assem. of Miss.*, *passim*.

either removed or provided for the removal of the negroes out of the state, this was doubtless caused in part by the owner's knowledge of the laws against allowing them to remain; and in other cases no provision was made for taking the slaves to other lands. And so we see that the individual negro was often treated kindly. There seems to have been no widespread feeling that this or that free negro was causing trouble to the state. But there was a decided feeling that as a class they were a real source of danger—a feeling that was inspired by the fear that the slaves might be more unruly if they realized that a state of slavery was not the necessary concomitant of a dark skin.

An historical investigator, we are told, should hold himself purely to a presentation of facts and not be concerned with questions of ethics. Sometimes considerable reading is necessary to form an opinion that can be expressed very briefly. If the material investigated is in large part sordid and by no means pleasant to read, may it not be permissible to present the conclusions, without the attendant details, even though the conclusions touch on the field of ethics?

The creation of the free colored class in Mississippi was a monument to the best and worst traits in human character. Some of these slaves were freed by their masters because of an honest interest in their welfare, and a sense of gratitude for the faithful behavior of the negro. There were some slave-holders who felt that the very system was evil. Others, not going so far, had a strong attachment—even affection and love—for some if not all of their slaves. And actuated by such feelings they sought by will or deed to free their negro slaves so that they would not fall into unkind hands. It should be remembered that such an act involved a considerable financial loss. Many of the slaves so emancipated found their free home in one of the northern states or in Africa, though some of them remained in Mississippi.<sup>76</sup>

On the other hand, our suspicions are sharpened when we notice the exceedingly high per cent. of the free colored class who had white blood in their veins. Of the 773 free persons of color in Mississippi in the year 1860, 601 were of mixed blood, and only 172 were black. Among the slaves this condition was entirely reversed. In this same year there were 400,013 slaves who were classed as blacks, and only 36,618 who were mulattoes.<sup>77</sup>

The sordid side of the story is that many instances can be given in which a slave-owner emancipated a mulatto slave and in the deed or will of manumission acknowledged his own blood relationship to

<sup>76</sup> Examples of this will be found in the cases cited in the opinion of the court in *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235.

<sup>77</sup> *Census of 1860* (Recapitulation).

the slave.<sup>78</sup> The frequency with which cases of this kind came before the Supreme Court of the state was all too large, but some qualification should be made before this be taken as an indication of the general state of affairs. When property was bequeathed by a white man to his mulatto child, it was often difficult to predict the decision of the court.<sup>79</sup> It is probable that the variableness of the court in deciding such cases resulted in a large per cent. of these cases being appealed to the Supreme Court of the state.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

<sup>78</sup> *Hinds et al. v. Brazeale et al.*, 3 Miss. 837; *Barksdale v. Elam et al.*, 30 Miss. 694; *Shaw v. Brown*, 35 Miss. 246; *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235; *Jour. of Gen. Assem. of Miss.*, 1823, *House Jour.*, p. 80; *ibid.*, 1826, *House Jour.*, p. 29. For somewhat similar cases see *Heirn v. Bridault and wife*, 37 Miss. 209; and *Raby et al. v. Batiste et ux.*, 27 Miss. 731.

<sup>79</sup> See opinion of the court in *Mitchell v. Wells*, 37 Miss. 235.

## NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

### "MEDIEVAL"

[At Rochester last December, at a dinner of the medievalists held in the course of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Professor Burr read a brief paper entitled "A Word of Caution". The following discussion was presented by way of illustration in the course of his pleading for openness of mind and against unreasoning conservatism. The managing editor remembers that in 1895, at one of the earliest meetings of the Board of Editors, before the first number of the *Review* had appeared, the late Professor George B. Adams, the medievalist of the Board, moved that the spelling "medieval" be adopted, and it was so voted. This being thus the one word whose spelling has been fixed by decree of the Board of Editors, it has been a comfort to the managing editor to have the *Review's* practice fortified by the high authority of Professor Burr.]

How our conservative instincts may sometimes lead us all astray let me illustrate by a very commonplace matter that is yet not without an interest for all of us—the spelling of the word *medieval*. Till some twenty years ago it was my own habit to spell it with an *ae*. That, I carelessly assumed, must be the older spelling and the best authenticated. The other—with simple *e*—must be somebody's reform; perhaps one of Noah Webster's improvements. When, however, I found myself an editor of the *American Historical Review* I accepted without question the briefer spelling used by it, and made my own habit conform. But it was not long before my fellow editor George Burton Adams, who had taught the *Review* this spelling, retired from the board; and, as I now represented the Middle Ages, our chief, Dr. Jameson, asked me whether this orthography ought to be retained. Then, at last, I looked the matter up—and found that all my conservative presumptions had been wrong.

The word was, in the first place, not yet a century old. Our neighbors, the French, the Italians, the Spaniards, had it before us, and from them we doubtless borrowed it. They, of course, all spelled it with a simple *e*, as they spell all words which in ancient Latin had *ae*. But even in French, Italian, Spanish, the word *medieval* is not old. The name *Medium Aevum* for the Middle Age, from which, of course, the adjective comes, dates back, as we now all know, only to the early seventeenth century; and in the Latin itself, of which the Romanic vernaculars are but local forms, the

diphthong *ae* had given place to simple *e* centuries before Italian or French became a written speech. It happened in the most natural of ways. When, in the early Middle Ages, the *a* of *ae* was no longer sounded, the useless and misleading letter was joined to its fellow in what is called a ligature, or monogram, the front of the *a* becoming also the back of the *e*. Then, growing ever more superfluous, what was left of the *a* slid gradually down the back of the *e*, dwindling first to a loop, then to a hook, then to a mere tick, and by the twelfth century (in Germany not till in the thirteenth) it vanished altogether. Of course, then, in the Romance tongues, the word *medieval*, when long afterward they gained it, had no *ae*.

"Ah, but", I know you are waiting to reply, "the Classicists later brought back the *ae* to Latin spelling, and English spelling borrowed it from them; and so, when the word *medieval* came into English speech, it was assimilated to the rest." Well, that is just about what I said to myself; but that, too, proved a hasty assumption. The Classicists did find the *ae* in their older manuscripts, and resurrected it, in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, for their Latin texts; but it did not thereby enter the current English spelling of English words. Ask Dr. Samuel Johnson, the father of English lexicography. Nobody will suspect that staunch old Tory of any treason to the ancient classics. "AE or Æ", he says, is "a diphthong of very frequent use in the Latin language, which seems not properly to have any place in the English; since the *æ* of the Saxons has been long out of use, being changed to *e* simple; to which, in words frequently occurring, the *æ* of the Romans is, in the same manner, altered; as in *equator*, *equinoctial*, and even in *Eneas*." Wherefore, of the host of English words whose Latin original begins with *ae* (it is easiest, of course, to glance through those in which it is initial)—such as *emulate*, *enigma*, *equable*, *equal*, *equation*, *equator*, *equestrian*, *equinox*, *era*, *eternal*, *ether*, *etiology*, to take a handful at random—not one is spelled in Johnson's dictionary with an *ae*; and only for *enigma* is there a cross-reference from an *ae* spelling. The word *medieval*, of course, he does not have—it was not yet born in English; but our three other words from the Latin *aevum*—"coeval", "primeval", "longevity"—he does have, and for them he knows no spelling but that with simple *e*.

From Samuel Johnson's dictum I have found no dissent. Our later lexicographers one by one adopt his words or paraphrase them. Even the conservative Worcester, under *ae*, does naught but quote the words of Johnson—"A diphthong in the Latin language, which seems not properly to have any place in the English"; and he, too,

knows for "coeval", "primeval", "longevity", and their fellows no other spelling than that with simple *e*. Yet, for the new word "medieval", which his first edition (1846) is one of the earliest dictionaries to register, he uses the spelling *mediæval*, merely adding "written also *medieval*". Apparently the word was so fresh-coined that he felt bound to set it down precisely as he found it. For already the lexicographers were in retreat before the schoolmaster. The proper names with whose Latin spelling schoolboys had grown familiar in their text-books, the ancient terms used in the schoolroom study of antiquities, and the new words coined direct from Greek or Latin by men of science or the arts, had had successively to be released from Johnson's ban. As to all this the new Oxford Dictionary speaks, of course, what is now the latest word. More fully than Johnson it points out that interesting old usage of the Anglo-Saxons, who borrowed the Latin character *æ* to denote a sound of their own (that of our *a* in *hat*) for which they found no sign in the Latin alphabet. This use of *æ*, however, "disappeared from the language in the 13th century". "The character was reintroduced", admits the Oxford Dictionary, "in the 16th century in forms derived from Latin words with *ae*"; "but this *æ*", it adds, "had only an etymological value, and wherever a word became thoroughly English, the *æ* or *ae* was changed into simple *e*." "The *æ* or *ae* now remains", it then informs us, only in three groups of words: "(1) in Greek and Latin proper names" and "even these, when familiar, often take *e*"; "(2) in words belonging to Roman or Greek antiquities"; "(3) in scientific or technical terms", and "these also when they become popularized take *e*." Now, the word *medieval* is surely not a proper name, nor does it as yet belong to the antiquities. It must be, therefore, as a scientific or a technical term that the Oxford Dictionary, doubtless bending before what it feels to be the usage of medievalists themselves, records the diphthongal spelling *mediæval* before the briefer *medieval*. Clearly we may expect that when the word becomes "familiar" and "popularized" the briefer spelling will prevail.

Why have I cared to tell you all this? Not, I assure you, with any hope of influencing the general spelling of the word. That I count hopeless. Too many are the schoolmasters and the schoolboys, too many the pig-headed professors like me with conservative instincts. How little has availed the example of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, of the Cambridge Histories, of the *English Historical Review* or the American. What I *have* hoped is only to kindle, perhaps, in your minds a suspicion that even conservative instincts can

go amiss; that even the study of the Middle Ages needs men of every temper, of every conviction.

GEORGE L. BURR.

#### A SOCIETY FOR PRESERVATION OF LIBERTY, 1784

THE following interesting communication, *apropos* of the note entitled as above in our last number, comes to us from Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, of the Institute of Economics in Washington.

WASHINGTON, May 14, 1927.

The Editor, *American Historical Review*:

Sir:

In connection with the document published by Professor Hamilton in the *Review* of April, 1927 (pp. 550-552), there is considerable information available in the memoirs of Filippo Mazzei, one of its signers. These memoirs appeared in two volumes at Lugano in 1845-1846, under the title *Memorie della Vita e delle Peregrinazioni del Fiorentino Filippo Mazzei*.

The origin of the society in question is indicated in note 3, pages 514-516 of volume I., which I reproduce below in large part, as the volumes of Mazzei are doubtless inaccessible to most readers of the *Review*.

The letter to John Blair mentioned at the end of the note appears on pages 296-299 of volume II., dated "Mansfield, May 12, 1785". At the end of the letter Mazzei proposes the election of honorary foreign members such as the eminent Beccaria, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and others. There also appears (pp. 300-315) a lengthy study entitled "Osservazioni sulla proposta legge per regolare in Virginia la navigazione dei bastimenti marittimi". Mazzei refers to his visit to the governor's council in June, 1784, on p. 507 of volume I.; and throughout this section of his book he mentions many of the men whose names appear as signers of the document communicated by Professor Hamilton.

Nei primi tempi che ero in Virginia ebbi occasione di parlar con Jefferson dei gravi danni causati all' Italia dell' arginazione dei fiumi, e soprattutto alla Toscana dopo che il conte di Richecourt capo della reggenza permise il taglio dei boschi sui monti, di là dei limiti fissati dalla legge in tempo di repubblica, e che Leopoldo estese all' infinito, non provvedendo i gravi danni, che dovevano risaltarne, cioè mancanza di abbondanti polle, che son tanto utili (poichè l'acqua, non essendo trattenuta, non puo filtrare, e formarle); frequenti inondazioni, alle quali succede scarsenza d'acqua, il che rende la navigazione difficile, pericolosa, e alle volte ineseguibile nell' uno e nell' altro caso; il rialzamento del letto dei fiumi per la deposizione d'ottima terra (poichè l'acqua porta via la meglio); la necessità di rialzare continuamente gli argini, che in vari luoghi appena si posson reggere; e non par lontana l'epoca, in cui riprenderà l'acqua i suoi diritti, aprendosi la strada più conveniente con grave danno dei possidenti; e i posterì di quei che diboscarono, ed ebbero il vantaggio di 2, o 3 buone raccolte, avranno sassi dov'era terra e bosco.

Jefferson convenne che l'adozione di quella legge sarà cosa ottima; non però prima che ne sia dimostrata l'importanza, poichè il toglier la libertà al proprietario di far quel che gli pare sul suo, repugna troppo alla libertà; ma quando i capi di famiglia vedranno, che tende a liberar da cattive conseguenze i loro posterì, chiederanno la legge essi medesimi.



Il nostro governo, quantunque fatto in fretta, e in tempi turbolenti, era preferibile ad ogni altro, antico e moderno; ma non ostante si conobbe presto, che era suscettibile di miglioramento. Si convenne per altro d'aspettare che ognuno potesse accudirci.

Al mio ritorno d'Europa, mentre Jefferson era in Boston per imbarcarsi e andar' a rimpiazzare il dott. Franklin, alcuni membri dell'assemblea proposero di farne la revisione, ed altri temevano d'urtare in Scilla per evitar Caribdi. Io proposi la formazione d'una società privata, col titolo di Società costituzionale per discuter privatamente tutto quel che doveva esser discusso pubblicamente e deciso dall'assemblea. Volevano farmi presidente; ricusai, prevedendo, che avrei dovuto ritornare in Europa dopo d'aver reso conto al governo della mia agenzia, e proposi il sig. Giovanni Blair, che fu approvato senza scrutinio a pieni voti.

Li eramo adunati più volte in Williamsburgo in casa del presidente con mia soddisfazione, ed essendo adesso coll'istoria della mia vita sul fiume Rappahanack in casa del signor Mann Page, dalle quale gli scrissi una lunga lettera, mi son ricordato d'averne l'abbozzo, l'ò cercato, l'ò trovato, e ve l'includo.

Yours very faithfully,

C. E. MCGUIRE.

#### AN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY VIEW OF MAGNA CARTA

A FEW years ago the work of Edward Jenks and W. S. McKechnie compelled a revision of the traditional interpretation of Magna Carta as the "palladium of our liberties". Their point of view however was not entirely new. In a recent number of the *American Historical Review* Professor A. L. Cross relates how it was anticipated by an obscure seventeenth-century thinker.<sup>1</sup> There are also certain scattered references in the early nineteenth-century radical press which prove that the reform movements of the 'thirties produced a similar unorthodox interpretation.

First, a London weekly of 1833, the *True Sun*, contains a brief but highly significant statement. It is evidently an item inserted as filler as there is no further note or comment.

It is vulgar to assume that the Barons, in proposing the terms of Magna Carta, considered that they were doing anything for the people at large. It must be remembered that although Peers led the army, people composed it; and it is curious to see that in the articles the Barons presented to the King, they include restrictions on *tailage*, a tax which fell upon the people, and *scutage*, which bore upon themselves—but in the Charter *scutage* alone is remembered. In fact Magna Carta is the charter of the Barons, and it happened to contain some excellent maxims, which they made for themselves, but which have been subsequently applied by the people.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, on February 12, 1834, Robert Owen said in a speech before his National Labor Exchange in London: "No doubt they

<sup>1</sup> *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIX. 74-76.

<sup>2</sup> *Weekly True Sun*, Dec. 15, 1833. Italics in the original.

had all heard of the great charter which was granted by King John, and which might not improperly be called the non-producers' charter; it is now high time to bring forward a great charter for the productive classes also, and this we will call THE CHARTER OF THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY."<sup>3</sup>

Thirdly, at the height of the Chartist agitation the *Western Vindicator*, a paper of Bath owned by Henry Vincent, who was then confined in Monmouth gaol, made the following statement in an article examining the historical basis of Parliament's powers:

In the reign of John the Barons . . . forced from their reluctant Sovereign that *foundation* of English liberty, *Magna Carta* (1215), the only article of which (among numerous privileges to the Barons and some *allowances to freemen*) at all benefiting the great body of the people, the *villeins*, was that they should not by any fine be deprived of their implements of husbandry. The Charter was again confirmed on the accession of Henry III.; again and again infringed and re-allowed according as the King or the Barons gained the ascendancy. The people were little cared for. So stood affairs till 1265, when the Barons, who had taken arms against Henry III. for his repeated violations of *their* Charter, being masters, but fearing a reverse, sought to win the affections of the enslaved people by some slight pretense of regard for their interest.<sup>4</sup>

In these excerpts are manifest the results of sound Charter study on the part of some one. The author of the item in the *Weekly True Sun* had compared the *Articuli Baronum* with *Magna Carta* and arrived at conclusions at variance with those generally accepted. He noted the selfishness of the barons in exacting from the defeated monarch favorable terms for themselves while leaving their burgher allies in the lurch. It was known how a narrow feudal document by the extension of its terms to new classes came to be a bulwark of popular liberty. Robert Owen, the Socialist, put an economic interpretation on the same facts. In his opinion the Great Charter of 1215 was for the consuming classes; the one for the producers of wealth was still to be gained. The constitutional investigator of the *Western Vindicator* understood quite clearly the relation of the selfish barons to the Charter and to the people.

This interpretation of *Magna Carta*, which must have been accepted by many thoughtful radicals of the day, makes of some significance an editorial reference in the *True Sun* to Holloway Head, the scene of the great Birmingham meeting of August 6, 1838, which launched the Chartist movement, as the "People's" Runnymede.<sup>5</sup> It may also explain the christening of the famous Six Points for which they agitated the "People's" Charter.

CARL F. BRAND.

<sup>3</sup> An Owenite weekly, *The Crisis*, Mar. 1, 1834.

<sup>4</sup> *Western Vindicator*, Dec. 14, 1839. Italics in the original.

<sup>5</sup> *Weekly True Sun*, Aug. 12, 1838.

THE ORIGIN OF "MANIFEST DESTINY"

ONE can hardly read a work on the history of the United States in the two decades before the Civil War without meeting the phrase "manifest destiny", widely used as a convenient statement of the philosophy of territorial expansion in that period. One searches the histories in vain, however, for any statement of when or by whom the phrase was invented.<sup>1</sup> Considerable investigation points to the following hypothesis of its origin.

In a speech in the House of Representatives on January 3, 1846, opposing the resolution for the termination of the joint occupation of Oregon, Representative Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts used the following words:

There is one element in our title [to Oregon], however, which I confess that I have not named, and to which I may not have done entire justice. I mean that new revelation of right which has been designated as *the right of our manifest destiny to spread over this whole continent*. It has been openly avowed in a leading Administration journal that this, after all, is our best and strongest title—one so clear, so pre-eminent, and so indisputable, that if Great Britain had all our other titles in addition to her own, they would weigh nothing against it. The right of our manifest destiny! There is a right for a new chapter in the law of nations; or rather, in the special laws of our own country; for I suppose the right of a manifest destiny to spread will not be admitted to exist in any nation except the universal Yankee nation!<sup>2</sup>

This seems to have been the first occurrence of the phrase in Congress. It was taken up and made much of by both sides in the Oregon debate, openly avowed as an argument by the advocates of an aggressive policy and ridiculed by their opponents.<sup>3</sup> Before the Oregon question was settled, the nation was engaged in the war with Mexico, and the enthusiasm for expansion at the expense of our southern neighbor served to popularize and perpetuate the phrase.<sup>4</sup>

Winthrop had ascribed the phrase to "a leading Administration journal". Examination of the columns of many Democratic papers brings to light in the New York *Morning News* for December 27, 1845 (just a week before Winthrop's speech), an editorial under the caption of "The True Title" which precisely fits Winthrop's description. It contains the following passages:

<sup>1</sup> In *A Dictionary of American Politics* by Professor Edward C. Smith (New York, 1924), p. 257, it is stated that this phrase "was derived from Webster's declaration that it was 'the manifest destiny for North America to become the home of a free people'". I have been unable, even with the courteous assistance of the editor of that publication, to find any substantiation for this statement.

<sup>2</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 1 sess., Appendix, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207, and Appendix, pp. 79-80, 92, 96, 99, 104, 110.

<sup>4</sup> See especially Niles, *The Weekly Register*, LXXIII. 334.

Our legal title to Oregon, so far as law exists for such rights, is perfect. There is no doubt of this. Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Buchanan have settled that question, once and for all. Flaw or break in the triple chain of that title, there is none. Not a foot of ground is left for England to stand upon, in any fair argument to maintain her pretensions. . . .

And yet after all, unanswerable as is the demonstration of our legal title to Oregon—and the whole of Oregon, if a rood!—we have a still better title than any that can ever be constructed out of all these antiquated materials of old black-letter international law. Away, away with all these cobweb tissues of rights of discovery, exploration, settlement, continuity, etc. To state the truth at once in its neglected simplicity, we are free to say that were the respective cases and arguments of the two parties, as to all these points of history and law, reversed—had England all ours, and we nothing but hers—our claim to Oregon would still be best and strongest. And that claim is by *the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent* [italics mine] which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us. . . . The God of nature and of nations has marked it for our own; and with His blessing we will firmly maintain the incontestable rights He has given, and fearlessly perform the high duties He has imposed.<sup>5</sup>

It was, I feel sure, this editorial which set Congressmen to talking about “manifest destiny” and thus insured the lasting hold of the phrase. But this was not the first occasion upon which the editor of the *Morning News* had used it. Mr. John L. O’Sullivan, editor of the *News*, was also at this time editor of a monthly publication, the *Democratic Review*.<sup>6</sup> The issue of this magazine for

<sup>5</sup> Files of the *Morning News* are rare. The only one I know of is in the possession of the New York Historical Society and extends from Aug. 21, 1844 (the first issue) to Sept. 7, 1846. The above editorial was also printed in the weekly edition of the paper, the *New York Weekly News*, for Jan. 3, 1846. For the history of the founding of the *Morning News* by Samuel J. Tilden and John L. O’Sullivan see John Bigelow, *Life of Samuel J. Tilden* (New York, 1895), I. 108–110.

<sup>6</sup> The bound volumes of this magazine bear the title *Democratic Review*. In reality it was published under several varying titles from 1837 to 1859. Its first home was Washington, D. C., and its first issue, that of October, 1837, bore the names of Langtree and O’Sullivan as publishers. From January, 1840, to June, 1841, the name of S. D. Langtree appears as the only publisher. In or prior to July, 1841, the magazine was moved to New York and to the close of 1845 published variously by J. and H. G. Langley, by Henry G. Langley, and by J. L. O’Sullivan and O. C. Gardiner. Throughout this period Mr. O’Sullivan appears to have been continuously the editor-in-chief of the magazine. An article in the *New York Evening Post* of Aug. 6, 1845, speaks of him as “now the exclusive proprietor”. From 1846 on, the name of Thomas Prentice Kettell gradually supplants that of Mr. O’Sullivan until in January, 1849, Mr. Kettell is spoken of as “Sole Editor and Proprietor”, but Mr. O’Sullivan continued to be associated with the magazine until at least as late as 1852. From 1837 through 1851 the title was uniformly *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. From 1852 on, the title-page bears the various designations of *The Democratic Review*, *The United States Review*, *The United States Democratic Review*, and

April, 1859, contains the boast that the *Review* has "from its birth until the present moment, advocated the 'manifest destiny' of the American Republic" (XLIII. 2). The claim seems to be in part substantiated by an editorial article in the issue for November, 1839, on "The Great Nation of Futurity". The writer dwells upon the mission of American democracy to "smite unto death the tyranny of kings, hierarchs, and oligarchs, and carry the glad tidings of peace and good will where myriads now endure an existence scarcely more enviable than the beasts of the field", and pictures thus the future of the United States:

The far-reaching, the boundless future will be the era of American greatness. In its magnificent domain of space and time, the nation of many nations is destined to manifest [here is a suggestion of the phrase] to mankind the excellence of divine principles; to establish on earth the noblest temple ever dedicated to the worship of the Most High—the Sacred and the True. Its floor shall be a hemisphere—its roof the firmament of the star-studded heavens, and its congregation an Union of many Republics, comprising hundreds of happy millions, calling, owning no man master, but governed by God's natural and moral law of equality, the law of brotherhood—of "peace and good will amongst men".<sup>7</sup>

Here, in the vision of a great and democratic nation, specially favored by Providence, whose "floor shall be a hemisphere", is the complete idea which was to be so conveniently summed up in the words "manifest destiny". From the style of the article as well as from O'Sullivan's known connection with the *Review* at the time, there can be little doubt that the article is from his pen.

But it was not till more than five years later, if my conclusion is correct, that the phrase "manifest destiny" was first used in this connection. In a combined number for July and August, 1845, the *Democratic Review* carried a leading article on "Annexation", denouncing the still lingering opposition to the last step in the annexation of Texas. All parties should now unite, urged the writer, especially since other nations have tried to intrude themselves "between us and the proper parties to the case, in a spirit of hostile interference against us, for the avowed object of thwarting our policy

*United States' Democratic Review*. The names of the publishers in these years also underwent numerous changes. Throughout its twenty-two years the magazine was an important organ of expression of the thought of the Democratic party at the North. But its interests were literary as well as political. Among its distinguished contributors were George Bancroft, Lewis Cass, Samuel J. Tilden, William Cullen Bryant, Bryant's son-in-law Parke Godwin, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Edgar Allan Poe. For glimpses of Poe's relations with the magazine and its editor see G. E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston and New York, 1909), I. 353, II. 123.

<sup>7</sup> *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, VI. 426-430.

and hampering our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfilment of our *manifest destiny* [*italics mine*] to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions".<sup>8</sup>

Here, I am inclined to think, is the first appearance of "manifest destiny"—"our manifest destiny to overspread the continent". With the first word omitted, the phraseology appears almost contemporaneously in the *Morning News* of July 9, 1845, where the editor speaks of "our destiny to overspread this entire North America with the almost miraculous progress of our population and power". As already shown, language almost identical appeared in the *Morning News* of December 27, 1845. If further evidence is needed of O'Sullivan's connection with the phrase, we have it in a letter printed over his signature in the *Morning News* of January 5, 1846, where he speaks of "this destiny to overspread the whole North American continent with an immense democratic population". "Manifest" is here omitted, but the remainder of the language bears unmistakable evidence of kinship with the other passages quoted.

If it is asked why the use of the phrase in the *Democratic Review* of July–August, 1845, seems to have escaped notice, whereas almost immediately upon its appearance in December in the *Morning News* it became a catchword with the expansionist group, the answer is that on the first occasion it was used in referring to what was then virtually a closed issue—the annexation of Texas—but that upon its second appearance it was applied directly as an argument for taking possession of Oregon and appeared in the nick of time to be quoted by both sides in the debate on that troublesome and very live question in the House of Representatives in Washington.

To summarize the hypothesis here advanced: The author of the phrase "manifest destiny" was John L. O'Sullivan, editor in 1845–1846 of the monthly *Democratic Review* and of the New York *Morning News*. The phrase first appeared in an editorial article in the *Democratic Review* for July–August, 1845. It was repeated in an editorial in the *Morning News* of December 27, 1845, in reference to the Oregon question. Thence it was carried into the debate on the Oregon question in the House of Representatives and proved to be such a convenient summing up of the self-confident nationalist and expansionist sentiment of the time that it passed into the permanent national vocabulary:

JULIUS W. PRATT.

<sup>8</sup> *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XVII. 5–10.



FIRST USE OF THE TERM "COPPERHEAD"

ANENT the first use of the term "Copperhead" as an opprobrious epithet applied to Democrats during the American Civil War, the late James Ford Rhodes wrote, "I have made and had made a considerable search for the first use of the term 'Copperhead'. The earliest that I have found it employed is in the *Cincinnati Commercial* of October 1, 1862".<sup>1</sup> Mr. Albert Matthews in a similar investigation wrote, "the earliest known instance is from Illinois, in reference to Indiana" in the *Chicago Tribune* for September 24, 1862.<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as both of the above authors have curiously overlooked a conspicuous and widespread newspaper usage of the term some two months before the dates of their first findings, a further word upon the matter is illuminative.

The *Cincinnati Gazette* of July 30, 1862, notified its readers: "The Copperhead Bright Convention meets in Indianapolis today", referring to the state Democratic convention. Antagonistic to the convention was a serenade accorded General Lew Wallace, a despatch account of which the *Gazette* published July 31 under the caption, "A Glorious Sequel to the Copperhead Convention". An investigation into a considerable number of newspapers has not revealed an earlier use of the abusive title. Since "Copperhead" appeared in print without quotation-marks it might seem that the application of the word was not new at that time, or type-practice in the *Gazette* office was that of omitting quotation-marks for even fresh adaptations. These are matters probably incapable of proof. Whatever the more immediate facts, they were inconsequential in the light of the real significance of the affair, namely, that the new brand of reproach had fallen upon a subject which attracted more than a state-wide interest. On this account the new concept of "Copperhead", linked to the Indiana Democratic convention, was rapidly circulated throughout the Ohio Valley. This currency was brought about through the copy which was made of the *Gazette* July 31 despatch by widely separated newspapers. In Missouri, the *St. Louis Tri-Weekly Democrat* of August 1 copied the despatch with its "Copperhead" caption. In Illinois, the *Springfield Weekly State Journal* of August 6 made the same copy. In Ohio, the *Wooster Republican* of August 7 made the same copy and captioned it: "The Copperhead Democrats". Further citations might be made of newspapers which through the same method contributed together, within the short

<sup>1</sup> *History of the United States*, IV. 224, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (1917), XX. 207.



course of one week, to widely acquaint the public mind of the Middle West with the new nickname.

Multiplied users soon diversified the application of the new term. An Indianapolis letter to the *Chicago Tribune* on August 3 reported grand jury proceedings against "some prominent Copperheads". This account was printed August 5 under the caption: "Preparing to Deal with Hoosier Copperheads". A letter to the Cincinnati *Commercial* on August 21 described a Democratic gathering at Lancaster, Ohio, as one where "the usual number of copperhead lies were told by orators". The letter was published under the indiscriminate caption: "Grand Copperhead Turnout in Fairfield County". These are fair examples of the rapidity with which the new term became generalized. The "Copperhead" cognomen was destined to become an important addition to Civil War nomenclature. After the apparently first appearance of the defamatory word in July, and its spread during August, a month followed during which the term seems to have dropped from the press. But the epithet had taken root in popular fancy and it began to reappear in the press during September and October. The first evidences of a scattered crop from a good seeding are the first findings of Messrs. Rhodes and Matthews, both of whom, from this point on, cite instances of the growing usage of the word. Aside from any antiquarian interest in the determination of the first use of the term "Copperhead" there is further value in its concrete evidence of the early rise of vitriolic politics during the Civil War period.

PAUL S. SMITH.

## DOCUMENTS

### *Despatches from the United States Consulate in New Orleans, 1801-1803, I.*

A PECULIAR historical interest attaches to those American consulates established in ports which at the time were foreign but which subsequently became a part of the territory of the United States. Professor R. W. Kelsey, and before him Josiah Royce, have shown how much of interest there is in the story of the United States consulate at Monterey, California, and Dr. Kuykendall has printed interesting despatches from consular American officers at Honolulu. The history of the consulate at New Orleans in the period of the cession of Louisiana and just before, 1798-1803, is also of interest.

At the time when the first consular officers of the United States were appointed, it was the custom of European governments to admit the establishment of no consuls in their colonies.<sup>1</sup> The new American government, however, had naturally a different conception of the relation of a colony to its European metropolis, and its citizens moreover began immediately, and especially after the opening of the great war in 1793, to have important commercial relations with colonial ports. Accordingly, among the fifty or sixty consuls or vice-consuls appointed by President Washington, we find consuls for French Hispaniola (Cap François and Aux Cayes), Martinique, and Isle of France, for Dutch Surinam, St. Eustatius, Curaçao, and Demerara, for Danish Santa Cruz, British Calcutta, and Spanish New Orleans; and to these President Adams added in his first year Swedish St. Bartholomew, Spanish Santo Domingo, and Havana.

The appointment of a consul in New Orleans was a natural result of the provisions respecting trade and deposit in the Pinckney Treaty of 1795. The status of trading foreigners before that time is fully set forth in retrospect by the experienced Daniel Clark:<sup>2</sup>

By the letter of the Spanish commercial laws, all trade is prohibited to her colonies, except it be carried on by natives, or naturalized residents.

<sup>1</sup> Moore, *Digest*, V. 17; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, IV. 88. D. B. Warden, *On the Origin, Nature, Progress, and Influence of Consular Establishments* (Paris, 1813), p. 219, prints a list of French consular establishments as they were in time of peace, i.e., before 1803; none was in any American port outside the United States. \*The same is true of his list of British consuls, pp. 281-282, if exception be made of the peculiar case of Brazil under John VI.

<sup>2</sup> *Proofs of the Corruption of General James Wilkinson* (Philadelphia, 1809), p. 84.

The extreme rigour of this rule defeated the execution, and the very existence of several of its colonies depended on its relaxation. This accordingly took place at New Orleans, particularly during the administration of the Baron de Carondelet. The first indulgence was granted, by extending the privilege to residents, altho' not naturalized. The second, by the officers of government contenting themselves with the simple declaration of any individual, commonly the consigner, that he was the owner of the vessel. This declaration was not made under oath, nor was it in most cases supported by any documents. Sometimes it was even accepted from a person who, though not actually resident, had declared his intention of making a settlement in the country, or who had obtained a license to introduce goods. It deceived nobody, but it furnished the officers of government with a very flimsy pretext for registering the vessel in their books as Spanish property, and thus preserving an apparent compliance with the law; but so little attention was paid to this formality, that the Governor and Intendant gave certificates that the vessel was American property, even while she stood on their Custom-house books as being owned by a resident.

The great increase of trade between New Orleans and the United States due to the more liberal provisions of the Treaty of San Lorenzo, the introduction of the sugar-cane into Louisiana, and the enlarged production of cotton, made it desirable to establish there a consul of the United States. On March 2, 1797, President Washington, as his last consular appointment, nominated to that office Procopio Jacinto Pollock of Pennsylvania, son of the well-known Oliver Pollock who had been so useful a financial agent of the United States in New Orleans and Havana during the Revolutionary War. This appointee however never went to New Orleans as consul, and ultimately he resigned.<sup>3</sup>

A year's interval occurred, during which the crying need for a representative of American commercial interests was informally supplied by Daniel Clark, resident merchant of Irish origin, born in Sligo in 1766. In a statement made to Congress in 1808, he says: <sup>4</sup> "I arrived from Europe, at New Orleans, in December, 1786, having been invited to the country by an uncle [Daniel Clark, sr.], of considerable wealth and influence, who had been long resident in that city. Shortly after my arrival I was employed in the office of the Secretary of the Government." On January 13, 1798, we find him writing to his friend Daniel Coxe of Philadelphia, "We are here

<sup>3</sup> *Executive Journals of the Senate*, I. 228. H. E. Hayden, *A Biographical Sketch of Oliver Pollock* (Harrisburg, 1883), p. 20, says of the son, "About 1800 he removed to Oporto Rico [sic] and engaged in the coffee culture. He became very wealthy; but nothing more can be learned of him". May 23, 1797, he is mentioned as of Havana, and May 6, 1799, Secretary Pickering writes of him as having resigned. *Historical Index to the Pickering Papers*, pp. 402 and 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Proofs*, p. 105\*; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II., app. no. V.; *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, I. 704, II. III; *Annals of Congress*, 10 Cong., 1 sess., I. 1388.

without a Consul and his presence is highly necessary to prevent and put a stop to the numerous abuses which the Spanish Governm't force the Americans to submit to".<sup>5</sup> In March, at the instance of Andrew Ellicott, the boundary commissioner, and Captain Isaac Guion, U. S. A., commanding at Natchez, he agreed to act, and Gayoso agreed to allow him to act, as vice-consul until a consul duly appointed by the President should arrive.<sup>6</sup>

Irregular as was his position, Clark proceeded to accomplish two useful things. Under the existing regulations, American vessels could not export from New Orleans the produce of Louisiana without paying duties of twenty-one per cent., quite prohibitive, and Spanish vessels could not export American produce which came down the river and was deposited at New Orleans, without paying six per cent. on the importation in addition to the ordinary export duty of six per cent.—twelve per cent. in all. With tactful and cogent representations Clark urged the intendant Morales to give greater freedom to commerce, under the hard conditions of wartime, by permitting American vessels to export the produce of the colony with the same freedom as Spanish vessels on payment of the same duties of six per cent., and to permit Spanish or Louisiana vessels to export American up-river produce, elsewhere than to Spain, as freely as American vessels on paying the same export duties.<sup>7</sup> Morales conceded both points.<sup>8</sup> Secondly, the acting vice-consul sent to Secretary Pickering a valuable general memoir on the commerce of Louisiana with the Ohio country.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile Clark was making an endeavor to be actually appointed consul. In view of the subsequent relations between the two

<sup>5</sup> Dept. of State, Misc. Letters.

<sup>6</sup> Ellicott and Guion to Clark, Mar. 2, 1798; Clark to Ellicott and Guion, Mar. 14, Clark to Pickering, Mar. 17, admitting that Gayoso had gone too far and that the whole proceeding was irregular. All in the State Department volume, Consular Despatches, New Orleans.

<sup>7</sup> Clark to Morales, May 1, 1798, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Pap. proc. de Cuba, leg. 612-2. For photographic copies of this and other documents, and for intelligent summaries and notes of many others, the editor is indebted to Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville. Clark to Pickering, Apr. 18, 1798, Consular Despatches, N. O.

<sup>8</sup> Morales to Clark, June 13, 1798, A. G. I., *ubi sup.* Clark to Pickering, June 14, Consular Despatches, N. O.

<sup>9</sup> Maj. Constant Freeman to Pickering, Savannah, June 11, 1798, enclosing the memoir, *ibid.* Parts of it were printed, from a copy furnished by Wilkinson, in the pamphlet *A Plain Tale, supported by Authentic Documents, justifying the Character of General Wilkinson: by a Kentuckian* (New York, 1807), pp. 10-14. These were reprinted in Clark's *Proofs*, pp. 6\*-9\* (see also p. 106), and somewhat fuller extracts in Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, II., app. no. VI., and *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, I. 707-709.

men, Wilkinson in 1811 took a keen pleasure in printing, in what later became the second volume of his *Memoirs*,<sup>10</sup> a letter which Colonel Daniel Clark, the uncle, had written him, March 28, 1798, saying:

I received a letter from my nephew Dan . . . desiring I would solicit your interest with the executive of your nation to appoint him consul at New Orleans, where he now, at the desire of Mr. Ellicott and Captain Guion, acts as Vice-Consul. Daniel is a young man of nice honour, and, as a trader, of fair character, extremely well affected toward the United States. He speaks Spanish and French; and, from a natural aptitude, and an experience of ten years, he has acquired great commercial knowledge, and a general acquaintance with the people, with whom he is a favorite.

Secretary Pickering, however, contented himself at this time with the appointment of a vice-consul, and no consul was appointed till more than a year later. His choice for the lesser appointment fell on William Empson Hulings of Pennsylvania, of whom, in a letter written from Philadelphia twenty-nine years later (1827), he gives the following account:<sup>11</sup>

He had a medical education, and is usually called Dr. Hulings; but if he practised at all, it was only in early life. He belongs to the Unitarian Society here, . . . [He is] now, I suppose, about sixty five years of age. . . . He received from me, when secretary of state, a commission as Consul [read "Vice-Consul"] at New Orleans, where he had resided a number of years, while that place was in the hands of the Spaniards, and where he had acquired a decent fortune. He was a native of Philadelphia, and was recommended to me by an uncle, who was of my acquaintance, and so received from the President the office of Consul.

On March 14, 1798, Hulings was nominated by President Adams as vice-consul at New Orleans, and in a few days the nomination was

<sup>10</sup> In *Burr's Conspiracy Exposed and General Wilkinson Vindicated*, and in *Memoirs*, II., app. no. VII. Five years later, the younger Clark wrote to Wilkinson, May 6, 1803, "From that trifling office which was unexpectedly and without solicitation conferred, and on that account alone accepted, I derived neither importance nor emolument; and be it continued, or conferred on another, I shall be equally vigilant and watchful of my country's interest". *Ibid.*, app. no. XIV. It is fair to remember, however, that he is speaking of the consulate actually bestowed in 1802. D. W. Coxe recommended him for consul, Philadelphia, Dec. 2, 1798, as "deserving of the candid and favorable opinion you [Pickering] expressed of him yesterday to me". Consular Despatches, N. O.

<sup>11</sup> T. Pickering to his son Octavius, at Salem, July 22, 1827, introducing "my very good friend, William Hulings Esqr. of this city; a gentleman who, with an easy fortune, has retired from business". Pickering Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. 38, p. 325; copy received by the kindness of Dr. Worthington C. Ford. Governor Claiborne, writing to Secretary Madison, New Orleans, Jan. 10, 1804, says: "Among the Inhabitants of this place who stand highest in Public estimation is a Mr. William E. Hulings, late Vice-Consul at this Port. He is a man of integrity, great commercial information, and a sincere Friend to the Government of the United States." *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, I. 332.

confirmed by the Senate.<sup>12</sup> In a letter of September 26 of that year Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of New Orleans, writing to his superior the Conde de Santa Clara, captain general of Cuba, describes Hulings as one who had formerly lived and traded in New Orleans, and says that on his presenting, June 25, a commission as vice-consul, dated March 19, he had admitted him to the exercise of that office "conformably to the treaty", meaning Article XIX. of the Treaty of San Lorenzo.<sup>13</sup> The captain general, however, refused his consent, and the royal government in Spain sustained him, decreeing that Hulings was not to be admitted as vice-consul.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, however, more than a year had elapsed and in fact Hulings officiated after a fashion for eighteen months.<sup>15</sup>

Not more fortunate was Pickering's next attempt. Desiring the appointment of a representative with full consular powers, he on April 12, 1799, recommended to President Adams the choice of Evan Jones of Louisiana as consul. President Adams issued to the latter a commission during the recess of the Senate, and nominated him when the Senate assembled December 5, 1799, when he was at once confirmed.<sup>16</sup> Jones was "born and bred in the Province of New York", but in 1775 settled as a planter in West Florida, and on its conquest by Spain became a Spanish subject.<sup>17</sup> In 1789 he was living on the west side of the Mississippi, where Wilkinson visited him.<sup>18</sup> In 1787 he was made a sublieutenant in the Louisiana militia, in 1792 Carondelet made him a captain, and the rank was confirmed by royal patent. Pressed by Gayoso to undertake the duty, he served from September 13, 1797, to September 27, 1798, as commandant *pro tempore* of the district of La Fourche (La Fourche de Chetimachas). Many letters that passed between him and the governor on the business of his district are preserved in the Archives of the Indies; <sup>19</sup> they seem to show him to have been a satisfactory and tact-

<sup>12</sup> *Exec. Jour. Senate*, I. 265, 266.

<sup>13</sup> A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1501, enclosing a copy of Hulings's commission; also (copies) *ibid.*, leg. 154-1.

<sup>14</sup> Manuel Luis de Urquijo, minister of state, to Santa Clara, Aranjuez, May 20, 1799, *ibid.*, leg. 1737, replying to Santa Clara's of Nov. 10, 1798. Marqués de Someruelos, Santa Clara's successor, to the governor of Louisiana, Havana, Aug. 9, 1799, *ibid.*, leg. 154-2.

<sup>15</sup> Hulings to the Secretary of State, Feb. 20, 1801. Consular Despatches, N. O.

<sup>16</sup> Pickering to Adams, Apr. 12, 1799, *Hist. Index to the Pickering Papers*, p. 9. Commission dated May 11. *Exec. Jour. Senate*, I. 326, 327.

<sup>17</sup> The main facts of his life are given in a (somewhat abject) letter to Someruelos, New Orleans, Aug. 19, 1799, Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1659.

<sup>18</sup> Jones to Clark, Feb. 16, 1809. Clark, *Proofs*, p. 21\*; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, II., app. no. XXXVII.

<sup>19</sup> Especially in Pap. proc. Cuba, legs. 118, 213, and 215.

ful official. Resigning at the latter date, at the age of more than sixty, he went to the States on a temporary errand of business, from which he returned as consul, arriving at New Orleans at the beginning of August, 1799.

When Consul Jones arrived at New Orleans with his commission, he found that Governor Gayoso had died a few days before. The temporary command fell to the senior colonel, Francisco Bouligny, who assured Jones that his own desire would be to recognize him as consul, but that he must first submit the question to the captain general at Havana. Meantime he presumed that Hulings would continue to act, and would act as Jones wished; and he accepted with complimentary phrases the latter's resignation of his commission in the militia of the province.<sup>20</sup>

Six weeks later, when the Marqués de Casa Calvo arrived as governor, Jones anxiously inquired of him whether the captain general had given orders for his recognition. On the contrary, though the fact was not disclosed to him, the captain general had ordered that he should be at once arrested and sent to Havana, his fatal offense being that he had accepted such an appointment from the United States while still a subject and militia officer of Spain.<sup>21</sup> When this order reached Casa Calvo, he replied to the captain general, late in October, that Jones was "a person of independent fortune, married, with grown-up children and a large family connection, and enjoying the esteem of the principal men", so that his arrest and deportation might cause commotions and murmurings, and the American government at Natchez might retaliate on Don José Vidal, who had been sent up there as Spanish consul; wherefore the governor thought fit to delay execution of the order while he consulted the captain general afresh. Under the circumstances, the captain general yielded as to arrest, but was positive against admission as consul; and the home government gave approval on both points.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Bouligny to Pickering, Aug. 8, 1799, and Jones to Bouligny, Aug. 15, in Consular Despatches, N. O. Bouligny to Jones, Aug. 14 and 17, *ibid.* and in A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1659.

<sup>21</sup> Jones to Casa Calvo, Sept. 24, 1799, *ibid.*, leg. 118. Someruelos to Bouligny, Sept. 3, *ibid.*, leg. 1573.

<sup>22</sup> Jones to Pickering, Oct. 7, 1799, in Consular Despatches, N. O.; Pickering, Nov. 14, *Historical Index to Pickering Papers*, informs him that in order to become an American citizen he will have to be naturalized. Someruelos to Urquijo, Oct. 7 (two letters), Nov. 29, Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1737; Casa Calvo to Someruelos, Oct. 24, Someruelos to Casa Calvo, Nov. 21, leg. 1573; Urquijo to Someruelos, Mar. 22, Aug. 20, 1800, leg. 1737. On receiving orders from Havana that Jones and Hulings must not be allowed to officiate, Casa Calvo sent word to Vidal, who had been consul of Natchez since the American occupation of the place in 1798, that thenceforward he was to act "merely as an agent, under the ostensible title of com-



In spite of the refusal of recognition or exequatur, Jones continued in an informal way, for more than a year and a half, to look after the commercial interests of American citizens in New Orleans. The first of the despatches printed below, from the consular archives of the Department of State in Washington, shows the difficulties under which he labored in so ambiguous a situation. Finally, Casa Calvo wrote him the letter of April 30, 1801, to which allusion is made in that despatch, sharply reminding him of the prohibition addressed to him in October, 1799, complaining that he was found to be still functioning as consul, and commanding him to desist. A similarly emphatic reminder was sent to Hulings, ordering him to cease functioning as vice-consul.<sup>23</sup>

Meanwhile, February 20, 1801, the American merchants in New Orleans, wearied with such a situation, petitioned their Secretary of State for the appointment of a consul for whom an exequatur might be obtained, and, having been "informed by Persons high in Office, that [Jones] will not be received in quality of Consul whenever the Court of Spain may judge expedient to admit of the Residence of one here, the reason of which they understand to be an offence taken against him for accepting an Appointment from another Country, without permission from his Sovereign, while bearing a Commission as an Officer in his Service", they urge the appointment of Hulings as consul.<sup>24</sup> The choice of the administration, however, fell on Daniel Clark, already one of the richest, perhaps the richest and most influential, of the Americans in New Orleans, and he received a recess appointment on July 16, 1801.<sup>25</sup> At a later time it was asserted that he was not an American citizen at the time of his appointment. On this point he said: <sup>26</sup>

In 1802, when my nomination as consul of the United States at New Orleans was confirmed by the Senate, a commission was made out, in which I was styled a subject of Spain. On the receipt of it I waited on the President, and explained to him my situation there. I had never been a Spanish subject, but had been naturalized, as an American citizen, in the latter part of the year 1798, at Natchez. In consequence of this explanation, the commission was changed, and I received one, in which I was described as a citizen of the U. S. resident at New Orleans.

mandant of the port of Concordia which has been established opposite Natchez". Casa Calvo to Someruelos, Feb. 3, 1800, leg. 1573, answering Someruelos of Nov. 21, 1799, *ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Casa Calvo to Jones, Apr. 30, and to Hulings, May 1; Jones to Casa Calvo, May 1; Hulings to the same, May 4; all in Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 137.

<sup>24</sup> Consular Despatches, N. O. Hulings also asked for the appointment, same date, *ibid.* Jones continued to reside in Louisiana, and later was a member of the legislative council of the territory of Orleans, joining with Clark in the opposition to Governor Claiborne. *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, III. 303.

<sup>25</sup> Records of appointments, Dept. of State. Commission in *Proofs*, p. 172\*.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

Clark, though he never was given an exequatur, officiated informally from the time of his appointment until the cession of Louisiana to the United States, without such friction as had arisen from the peculiar circumstances of Jones. On November 7, 1801, he set out for Philadelphia, partly on business, partly to make arrangements respecting Madame Zulime Desgranges, whose first child was born there before his arrival, and whom he married there in 1802—if we believe the witnesses whom the majority of the United States Supreme Court believed in 1867; or did not, if we disbelieve them as the majority of that court did in 1851.<sup>27</sup> Her second child was the celebrated Myra Clark Gaines, whose half-century of lawsuits over his estate, 1834–1884 (he died in 1813), was the Jarndyce *v.* Jarndyce of American judicial history.

Of all these matters the consular despatches naturally say nothing, but Clark was not inattentive to matters of the consulate. President Jefferson sent the nomination of him to the Senate on January 6, 1802, and it was confirmed on January 26. On February 18 we find him writing from Philadelphia, "I returned three or four days [ago] from Washington, where I had an opportunity of seeing the President and officers of government, by whom I was well received". He remained in Philadelphia till April 22, when his intended departure for New Orleans in the schooner *Eliza* is mentioned, and on June 22 wrote to Secretary Madison from New Orleans the despatch which is printed second on the following pages.<sup>28</sup> His later history as consul is sufficiently shown in texts and annotations of the documents which ensue, all taken from the consular archives of the Department of State. His subsequent public activities as territorial delegate in Congress and opponent of Wilkinson are well known.

Endorsements upon the despatches or statements in them show that letters passing between consul or vice-consul and Secretary of State took from twenty-three to sixty-one days in transit, on the average thirty-eight days.

#### I. EVAN JONES TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

NEW ORLEANS 15th May 1801<sup>29</sup>

Having written at different times, a number of letters to your predecessor in office Mr. Pickering, respecting the situation of the Citizens of

<sup>27</sup> *Gaines v. Relf*, 12 Howard 472; *Gaines v. New Orleans*, 6 Wallace 642—and nine other cases in the court's reports, but these two give the testimony and documents. See especially 12 Howard 485, 487, 492.

<sup>28</sup> *Exec. Jour. Senate*, I. 404, 405. Letter in 6 Wallace 677; 12 Howard 487. He received his commission and sent his bond Apr. 20; letter of that date in Consular Despatches, N. O.

<sup>29</sup> Endorsed as received Aug. 20.

the U. S. trading to New Orleans, or passing thro' it, and not having had the honor to receive any answer to most of them, I have been almost discouraged from writing any more.

Considering however that the changes which have taken place in several of the departments, may, even long before they happened, have furnished ample occupation to the Chiefs, and remembering that my duty and affection for my native Country should never suffer me to see with unconcern the interests of her Citizens injured, nor her dignity unrespected, I venture Sir to offer you a few hints on the subject of those Citizens of the U. S. who navigate the Mississippi under the Treaty, who trade to New Orleans, or who only pass thro' it in their way from the Ohio etc. to the Atlantick States, or from these to the Natchez and upper Country.

All such, it has appeared to me, are more or less subject to inconveniences and even oppressions from which I think American Citizens should be exempt.

To begin—American Vessels bound into the Mississippi, are often delayed and endangered, and many have been lost, through the ignorance or negligence of the Spanish pilots, to put it upon no worse a footing.<sup>80</sup> The quantities of goods however which have been lost out of different vessels, only run ashore at first, at the mouth of the River, and afterwards wrecked, would afford grounds for placing it on a less favorable one.

These complaints I presume might be remedied, by having a small American Ship of war, stationed constantly within the mouth of the River. Such a ship might not only furnish pilots to American Vessels bound in and out, and afford assistance to stranded Ships, but would moreover answer many other good purposes.

The free navigation of the Mississippi, seems clearly to imply the right of bringing in our own Vessels, and of taking them out. Yet, a very respectable American merchant, for attempting to sound the Channel, in order to take his Vessel out, was imprisoned by order of the Spanish Governor of Louisiana!

American Vessels, as soon as they enter the River, are boarded by a Spanish officer, and required to give a particular manifest of their Cargos—To declare from whence they came, whither bound etc.

At the fort of Plaquemine, ten leagues above the mouth of the River, they are again stopt, and another ceremony of enquiry gone through.

On their arrival at New Orleans new difficulties present themselves.

I can not speak particularly of Vessels bringing Merchandize for sale, and carrying away the produce of Louisiana, for those its alleged by the Spanish Government are only to be looked upon as Neutrals, voluntarily submitting themselves to the laws and regulations of Spain.

But, Vessels coming to take away deposited property, its pretended, are obliged to ask permission for the purpose; are subject to have a Custom house guard put on board them while loading, and to be searched before they sail.

<sup>80</sup> In 1798 Vice-Consul Hulings, soon after his appointment, had raised the questions whether American ship-captains might not come into and up the river without a pilot, and whether they might not take soundings in the river. The Spanish governor had replied that Spanish pilotage must be maintained, and that citizens of the United States could only take soundings in those parts of the river where one bank belonged to the United States. Hulings to Gayoso de Lemos, Aug. 14, 1798; Gayoso to Hulings, Aug. 16; Gayoso to Santa Clara, captain general of Cuba, Sept. 26; all in A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1501.

Embargoes too have repeatedly been laid on American Vessels in the Mississippi, contrary to the letter as well as spirit of the Treaty between the United States and Spain.

An American Ship called the Ocean belonging to New York, and commanded by Capt. Harrison, having lately arrived here, the Consignee was about to load her with Sugar, logwood, flour etc. and it was understood she was bound for London, or some other port in England; but, the Spanish Intendant, on a pretext that she was suspected to be a British Ship, tho' furnished with every necessary paper to prove the contrary, would not suffer her to load till a bond was entered into, in the Sum of \$15,000, to prove in some new way that she was American property, and with condition that she should not sail for England.

To this oppression the Consignee was obliged to submit, and the Ship is to go to Charleston!

Of late, the Custom house officers insisted, that no boat coming with American produce from the Ohio etc. should be allowed to deposite it in New Orleans, unless they produced a passport from the Spanish fort at Baton Rouge, about forty leagues above this City, but that innovation I opposed so strenuously, that for some weeks past, they seem to have left the matter on its former footing.

My intervention on that and other occasions however, has not been unresented, as you will see hereafter.

On the arrival of boats with flour, or other produce from the Ohio, they are immediately boarded, searched, and molested by the Custom house guards. To Ship their produce on board of such American Vessels as they find waiting for it, a permission from the Spanish Government must be obtained, and the Citizens of the U. S. who come down in such boats, previous to embarking on board of American Vessels bound to the Atlantic States are held to take and pay for passports from the Spanish Governor, which passports they exhibit at Plaquemine, before they leave the Mississippi.

Boats coming loaded with flour, having simply asked permission to sell, by way of trying the market, which they have found bad, have been obliged to pay a duty both inwards and outwards on the flour, before they have been allowed to ship it on board an American Vessel, altho' it had never been landed from boats, in any part of the Spanish dominions!

Respecting the oppressions exercised on many American Citizens, and especially on Seamen, I beg leave to refer to my letters to Mr. Pickering of the 1st march, 15 and 25 April 1800.<sup>31</sup>

Other transient Citizens too are often exposed to oppressions. In case of any difference amongst themselves, they are obliged to have recourse to Magistrates, to whose laws and language they are strangers, and who, not unfrequently, by way of rendering prompt justice to the parties, dispatch one or other of them to prison.

The case of a Gentleman named Rudge, lately here, seems particularly hard. He came out nine or ten months ago, with a power of Attorney from a house in New York, to recover a considerable sum they claim from a Mr. Zerban, to whom they had sold and consigned goods in New York, in 1799. Rudge, not finding Zerban in New Orleans, but understanding he was at the Natchez, went thither and met him; and not receiving a satisfactory account from him, brought a Suit against him, and held him

<sup>31</sup> In that of Apr. 15 Jones describes particularly the tricks by which American ship-captains unjustly brought about the imprisonment of their seamen.

to bail in a considerable sum. Zerban is a native of one of the U. S. and was supposed to be a Citizen of those States when Rudge brought his Suit, since he sat just previous thereto, as a grand Juror at Natchez.

The Suit being so brought, Zerban alleging that his papers etc. were in New Orleans, where the goods were sold, proposes to settle the matter by an arbitration there, and accordingly Arbitrators were named, and their award, if delivered by a certain day, was to be made a Rule of Court, (If I express myself correctly) without the suit being dismissed.

The parties came then to New Orleans, where the debtor pleading that his Accounts were not ready, the Arbitrators could not proceed to an examination of them, 'till within a few days before the time fixt for sending up their award to Natchez. At length they did meet, and then Mr. Zerban refusing to lay before them certain papers they thought necessary, they could proceed no further in the business, the time for giving in the award elapses, and Rudge prepared to return to the Natchez having obtained a passport for that purpose from the Marquis de Casa Calvo, the Military Governor of Louisiana.

But now mark the Sequel! Mr. Zerban presents a memorial to the Marquis, alleging that he had been held to bail in an exorbitant Sum at Natchez, which he did not justly owe to Rudge's Constituent; and thereupon praying that Rudge may be detained in New Orleans, 'till all matters in dispute shall be finally settled between them!

Now, the plain English of this Spanish prayer is, that the suit at Natchez should be dismissed, and Rudge left at liberty to commence another, if he chooses it, in New Orleans; in preference to which I should advise him to abandon the debt!

The Spanish Government however, very readily took the matter up, and the same Marquis who had given Mr. Rudge a passport to go to the Natchez, on Zerban's memorial countermands it; and with threats in case of disobedience orders him to remain in New Orleans, 'till his affairs with Zerban should be settled. Rudge in consequence remained some time in New Orleans, but finding himself continually harrassed by lawyers and notaries in a language he did not understand, went off privately to the Natchez.

This affair, no more than many others, wants no comment!

I had to lament that on that occasion, as well as frequently before, my situation (not having been received as Consul of the United States) prevented me from making such a representation, as might have tended to procure redress to the party aggrieved. All I could do, was to accompany the prisoner to the Marquis, and to request in a very humble manner, that he might be permitted to pursue his journey to Natchez, which was positively refused.

This application however, respectfull as it was, joined to my representations to the officers of the Customs, respecting the boats from the Ohio, I have no doubt, procured me the haughty and humiliating letter address to me by the Marquis de Casa Calvo on the 30th of april past, of which I have the honor to enclose you a copy, as well as of my answer. This last, was contemptuously returned to me unopened, because the address was in English; and accompanied by a note from the Secretary, saying "That he returned me my letter unopened, by order of the Military Governor, who not being an Englishman nor I neither, he ought not to receive an official letter in any language but the Spanish"!

Now, its to be remembered, that on different occasions, I had written several official letters to the Marquis in English, which he received and answered very politely.

The cause of this insult must therefore be sought for, elsewhere than in his recent dislike to the English language.

To avoid any further mortification, my answer was sent in Spanish.

You will observe Sir, that the Marquis now affects to regard me as an officer of the Spanish Militia. It is true that I was formerly ordered to act as such, and did obey; but it is equally true that the Marquis has for near two years past had in his possession the original letter of his Predecessor in office Don Francisco Bouligny, accepting in a most formal manner my resignation,<sup>32</sup> and thanking me for my Services.

It is also as certain, that ever since the Marquis' arrival in New Orleans, now near two years, he has seen me publicly wear the uniform of the American Navy, (which has now become so offensive to him) without making the smallest objection to it; and moreover, he knows that I did not put that uniform on, but by the express permission of his Predecessor, signified to me in writing by the then and present Secretary of Government.<sup>33</sup>

It is of little consequence to my Country, (however it may affect me) whether I wear a brown coat, or a blue one; but the Marquis, not content with cavilling at my dress, has, in his letter of the 30th of April, ordered me in the most positive terms, to refrain from *every Consular function*; and, having no power to resist, I must obey.<sup>34</sup>

Soon after this mandate was sent to me, a somewhat similar one was addrest to Mr. Hulings, the Vice Consul, forbidding him also the wearing an American uniform, and from performing any Consular act whatever.<sup>35</sup> He came instantly to know my intentions on the occasion, professing that his duty lead him to conform exactly to them. I told him, that I looked upon the orders we had received, to be so violent, so oppressive to many

<sup>32</sup> In a letter of Jones to Bouligny, Aug. 15, 1799 (copy in Consular Despatches, N. O.), Jones resigns the commission in the Louisiana militia which he had received from Carondelet. It appears that he supposed he thus became a citizen of the United States. A copy of Bouligny's reply, Aug. 17, 1799, accepting his resignation and thanking him for faithful service, is also *ibid.*, and in A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 1659. Jefferson in 1788, when transmitting from Paris the consular convention he had negotiated with France, recommended that only native citizens of the United States should be appointed consuls, all others being named vice-consuls. *Diplomatic Correspondence, 1783-1789* (ed. 1837), II. 195-196. In the first appointments under the new government, in 1790, 1791, and 1792, the distinction was closely observed. After that it was not. The Senate, after some hesitation, left the matter open, resolving, June 17, 1790, "that it may be expedient to advise and consent to the appointment of foreigners to the office of Consul or Vice-Consul for the United States". *Exec. Jour.*, I. 51.

<sup>33</sup> Casa Calvo to Jones, Apr. 30, 1801. A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 137. Jones to Casa Calvo, May 1, submitting, *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Some governments at this time prescribed uniforms for consuls as such, but no statute has ever provided them for consuls of the United States. The name of Evan Jones does not occur in Dr. Paullin's lists of naval officers in *The Navy of the American Revolution*, nor in Hamersly.

<sup>35</sup> Casa Calvo to Hulings, May 1, 1801, inclosure in Hulings to the Secretary, May 2. Consular Letters, N. O.; also in A. G. I., Pap. proc. Cuba, leg. 137, with Hulings's reply, May 4, submitting.



Citizens of the U. S. and so totally devoid of that hospitality and friendship they had a right to expect, that I thought myself bound to make an immediate representation of the matter to the Government of the U. S. and wait their orders thereupon.

He expressed his entire conviction of the propriety of this resolution, and we parted.

The next day, I saw, without surprise, appear, a private agent; who I presume was of the family of Messrs. X, Y, and Z, the agents of Mr. Tallyrand.

That gentleman, after much circumlocution, and expressing the personal esteem the Marquis had for me, as well as his great regard for the interest of the Citizens of the U. S. etc. proceeded to inform me that he (the Marquis) had found himself under a political obligation to give the orders he had given on the 30th of April, but, that he (the agent) was authorised to say, if I thought proper to confine my Consular functions to giving Certificates of property, and drawing protests etc. for American Citizens, in so private a manner as that the Spanish Government might appear to be ignorant of it, I might rest assured the Marquis would wink at it.

I answered, that I had never made any parade of the exercise of my office, the functions of which were generally of the kind he mentioned, performed in my own Counting house, and in addition to which, I had only ventured to make a few respectful representations in favor of some of my Countrymen—That my situation in New Orleans, had never been equal to what it would have been, even in the Havana, where tho' the Consul is not positively accredited, his public agency is permitted, and his assistance accepted in all cases where the interest of the Citizens of the U. S. is concerned—That upon the present occasion, my duty impel'd me to appeal directly to the Government of the U. S. whose dignity I thought I should commit, if I acted as he proposed.

He left me therefore, and immediately went to hold out the same insidious terms to the Vice Consul, who to my astonishment appeared entirely disposed to listen to them, notwithstanding his previous promise to act entirely in conformity to my opinion!

Mr. Hulings alleged, that the interest of many Citizens of the U. S. might suffer for want of such Certificates of property etc. as we usually gave, and that several persons had advised him to continue to act. But, that ground seemed quite untenable, because such Certificates signed by two or three Merchants, would have answered the same purpose, and even a better, as they might have been drawn in such a manner as clearly to show the unfriendly disposition of the Spanish Government.

I remarked to Mr. Hulings, that he was about to commit the dignity of the Government of the U. S. without any sufficient cause—That his conduct would only invite new oppressions, and that, as it clearly appeared from the overtures of the agent, the Marquis was already sensible he had gone too far, a little firmness on our parts, would certainly in a few days procure a revocation of the orders, and place us on a more respectable footing than we had ever been. My reasons like my entreaties were in vain! Mr. Hulings determined to act in opposition to both, for those were all I had to offer; as neither he nor I conceived I had any authority to prevent him.

He, has always taken the full fees of office for what he has done, while I have taken none at all, from which however, I do not claim any merit.



Throughout the whole of this mortifying scene, I had the satisfaction of acting directly in conformity to the advice of the Honble. Judge Bay of Charleston,<sup>36</sup> who happen to be in N. Orleans at the time.

I have now shown you Sir, the unenviable ground on which I stand, and how much, in a variety of cases, the property as well as liberty of many Citizens of the U. S. may depend on the will of the Governor of New Orleans. It will be for the wisdom of the Government of those States to determine what, or whether anything is necessary to be done on the occasion; as well as whether under such, or under any circumstances, the Vice Consul has a right to act without the orders and contrary to the approbation of the Consul?

My letter has already become enormously long. Yet I must entreat your indulgence while I mention one or two matters more, which among many others, I think it necessary you should know.

The Estates of American Citizens dying Intestate in Louisiana, instead of going into the hands of the Consul for<sup>37</sup> And of the heirs, are taken possession of by the Military Governor, tho' the Civil Govt. also claims a right to dispose of such Estates.

In the article of depositing and reshiping American property, many gross abuses are practised. I shall just instance the article of Cotton.

As there is no fixt and publick place of deposite in New Orleans, every planter, or trader, coming with Cotton from the Natchez etc. reports it to the Spanish Custom house, where a note of it remains, and is called the deposite of A B, let us say. But the Cotton is transported to whatever warehouse the owner pleases. Now, instead of 100 bales which A B really had, he reports 150; and when he wants to ship Cotton he has only to send a note to the Custom house, saying, that from the deposite of A B, 150 bales of American Cotton are shipt on board the ship C D, tho' 50 of them are really Spanish.

Large quantities of Cotton, the growth of Louisiana, are reported too at the Custom house, as coming from the Mississippi Territory—and lastly, there are people, who in concert with some of the under Clerks of the Custom house, find means of clearing out as many bales of Spanish Cotton as they please, calling it American, on the Shipper paying about 13½ Cents a bale.

Thus, almost all the Cotton of Louisiana, and the quantity is very considerable, goes into the Atlantick States free of duty.

When the government of the U. S. considers the vast encreasing intercourse between their Citizens and the subjects of Spain in Louisiana, they cannot, I think, doubt a moment, about the necessity of having some person to represent them here. What the abilities, reputation, and zeal of that person for their interests should be, it will be for them to determine.

It appears to me, that if ever a Consul is established in New Orleans, not only a particular convention with Spain, but a particular law of the U. S. will be necessary for his government; and for that of those Citizens who have any business with him—A law clearly defining his powers, and pointing out which of the Citizens of those States shall from obligation apply and report to him on their arrival and departure, for if such applications and reports are to depend on the Courtesy of the Spanish Government, or on the will and pleasure of those who ought to make them, the

<sup>36</sup> Elihu H. Bay, a judge in South Carolina from 1791 to 1838, and author of *Bay's Reports*.

<sup>37</sup> The word "for" should apparently have been stricken out.

*Despatches from U. S. Consulate in New Orleans* 815

Consul will always be a Cypher, and the rights and interests of Americans be trampled on.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honor to be

Sir

Your Most Obedient and

Most huml. Serv.

EVAN JONES

Consul of the U. S.

The Honble.

John Marshall, or

Secretary of State for the time being.

II. DANIEL CLARK TO SECRETARY MADISON.<sup>38</sup>

NEW ORLEANS 22 June 1802

*Sir!*

In compliance with your direction, to point out such objects as would require the interference of our Government, with this of Spain, to ascertain our rights, and procure redress, and at the same time to have your instructions to regulate my own conduct, as well, towards the Spanish Government, as in the intercourse with our own citizens; I now have the honor to lay before you the Situation of affairs, and earnestly intreat, you will as soon as possible, take the same into consideration, being of importance to the welfare and commerce of the Western States, and indeed of the U. States in general.

You are already advised, of the disagreeable predicament in which I am placed, by the refusal of the Spanish Government, to recognize a Consul for the U. S., in any port in their American dominions, and of the new order from the Governor of Louisiana, to the Vice Consul, to suspend the exercise of his functions: Copy of which, with his answer, has been transmitted to you. The indispensable necessity of an official character, duly recognized here, to protect the Commerce and Citizens of the U. States, is too well known to you, to need any comment on my part, I therefore content myself with merely mentioning the point, confident that the Government will not fail to insist on it with the Court of Spain.

To give you an idea of the Trade of the Country, and the manner in which it has been carried on for many years, it may be necessary, to refer you to the communications I made to Col. Pickering, when Secretary of State, which I believe are in your possession.<sup>39</sup> Under the regulations there mentioned, and covered by the Spanish flag, our vessels traded to Louisiana till 1798, when in consequence of an application I made to the Intendant, and by him referred to the Chamber of Commerce, our vessels were put on the same footing, with respect to imports and exports, as their own, and the duties reduced from 21, to 6 per Ct. This privilege, we have enjoyed without interruption ever since, except in two instances, Viz: an attempt to prohibit the importation of Sugar and taffia, and the exportation of board and lumber to Havana; in order to encourage the growth of the former, and to limit the carriage of the latter to their own bottoms; from both of which, the Government was obliged to relax, on account of the inconvenience resulting from it to the Province.

<sup>38</sup> A copy of this letter was made for Monroe, and is in the Monroe MSS. in the Library of Congress.

<sup>39</sup> Letters of Mar. 17, Apr. 18, June 14, 1798, Nov. 18, 1799, in Consular Letters, N. O.

Since the publication of the preliminary articles of Peace with Gt. Britain,<sup>40</sup> the Intendant has signified his intention of shutting the Port as soon as the Definitive Treaty is officially promulgated, against Importations for the use of the Province of Louisiana in our bottoms, and the exportation of its produce in the same way; limiting our Commerce in this quarter, to the supplying of our own Settlements on the River, and exportation of their produce deposited in New Orleans. Of this Order we have no right to complain, however we may regret the narrow policy of the Government, which prohibits an intercourse, as advantageous to the inhabitants of Louisiana as to ourselves. But Justice to our Citizens forces me to Protest against the measures pursued by the Intendant, in requiring a security on the importation of produce, from our settlements on the river, intended to be put in deposit; this security must be given by two resident merchants of New Orleans, to be answerable for duty, in case of Sale, which for the most part is never intended; and the importer is, by this means, forced to consign his property to the Persons becoming his security, who exact a commission, which, in the present State of the markets, is a great hardship and very severely felt. The pretext for this imposition, which likewise brings a fee to the Custom House officers, was, that certain Spanish merchants, who had received Consignments from our Citizens, had instead of Shipping, sold a part of them in the Country, and had not accounted for the duties; tho' they were charged to the owners of the property. This was very easy for them to effect, as there exist no Public deposit-stores, and the produce of the upper Country was suffered to be stored by each individual, where he found it most convenient for his interest. If the Spanish Merchants have acted amiss, our Citizens should not suffer for it; the present measure forces them indispensably, to pay a heavy Commission and Custom House fees for the Bonds, in addition to Storeage, the only charge contemplated in the Treaty with Spain, whose duty it was to provide Stores, or suffer them to be taken by our Citizens, without annexing to it a condition, as burdensome, as it is unjust, and which often lays them entirely in the power of men, with whose characters they are not acquainted, and from whom they consequently may suffer.

Another abuse, and imposition more injurious than the foregoing, is, a duty of three per cent, exacted by order of the Intendant, since the 20th March last, on all money whether imported by sea, in our vessels, or in Boats, from our Settlements on the river, and entered in New Orleans for deposit, to be shipped to the U. S. from the one part, in return for goods purchased there, or, on the other, sent into the settlements to purchase their produce. The duties collected to this day, have already amounted to (\$552) five hundred fifty two Dollars, as will appear by Paper No. 1. herewith, and would have been infinitely greater, had not the Captains and Consignees of Boats and vessels importing Cash, in general avoided making an entry of it. Judging from this, it will appear, that this duty is a matter of the utmost importance in itself, independently of the principle on which it is exacted; and which ought by no means to be submitted to, as the same authority which pointed out 3 per cent as the ratio of duty, may, ad libitum, increase it to 50 per cent or absolutely prohibit the introduction, of it or any thing else, if the right is once acknowl-

<sup>40</sup> Preliminary articles of peace were signed at London Oct. 1, 1801, by Hawkesbury on behalf of Great Britain and by Otto on behalf of France and her ally Spain. The intendant was Don Juan Ventura Morales.

edged. On no pretence whatever, can this duty be demanded. It is not warranted by Treaty; it never could be supposed that the liberty of depositing our produce, and merchandize, in New Orleans, was limited merely to the Storeage of these articles, until an opportunity offered of exporting them to foreign Countries, or be supposed that the Farmer, who raised the produce, must turn Merchant, and ship it; nor that the Merchant, who imported for the use of the Upper Country, must follow his adventure to the place where it was consumed. The Place of Deposit must have been intended for a mart, where the commodities of the interior settlements might be sold to, or exchanged with, the American Merchants, and where value must be given for them; this principle is opposed by the Spanish Government, which pretends, that every thing reported for deposit, must be imported and exported by the same person; that no transfer may be made, from a Citizen of the Western, to one of the Atlantic States—that the latter, has no right to bring Cash free of Duty to purchase the produce of the former, nor the former, in like manner, to purchase the Merchandize deposited by the latter; the extension of this principle, if not avoided by the Merchants, will at once put a stop to all Commerce, and requires the immediate interference of Government, it is an abuse of too great a magnitude to admit of delay, as it may take root and require a violent remedy. The People of the Western States, and Merchants from the Atlantic ports, are loud in their clamor against it, and hope that redress will early be procured them, for the past, and for the future, security against such intolerable abuses.

The Paper No. 2, the Protest of a Mr. Cushing, is intended as an official document on the subject. The Intendant of Louisiana, has imposed this arbitrary duty, of his own accord, without any authority from his Court so to do, as he himself informed me, but he has given advice of the measure, and will continue to exact it, until the pleasure of the King of Spain is known. Should the Court approve of it, it will be rigorously adhered to, until our Government interferes, and forces the Ministers to punish the officers, who dare commit an outrage of this nature, on our property—violate the Treaty, and insult the nation, by usurping a power of dictating to it, in its most important concerns. I would beg leave to suggest, that in future, no duty or fee of any kind should be imposed, without its concurrence—if this is not done, we shall be constantly exposed to new impositions, on new prettexts, and neither our persons, nor our property will be in safety.

Prevented from remonstrating *officially*, I waited on the Intendant, as an Individual, whom he knew to possess the confidence of his Government, manifested the injustice of the proceeding, reminded him, that he had last year consulted me to know whether I thought our Citizens would agree to pay  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to an officer, whom he should appoint to take charge of all Specie imported, and who should be responsible for it; that I had then replied, that I thought the charge exorbitant, that it would not be submitted to, and desired him to recollect, that in consequence of the reasons then alleged, he gave up the point and requested me not to mention it. I asked him, why, after this, he had so enormously increased the ratio of duty? he replied that 3 per cent, was a fee paid in Spain, to the person appointed to receive all public deposits, and that he could do no less than allow the same here—in vain did I observe that the case was different, as there were here two Parties, the American, and Spanish Governments, and that without the consent of the former, the latter had no right to impose any duty whatever. He spoke of the Storeage men-

tioned in the Treaty,<sup>41</sup> to which I replied, that *he* had not the right of saying how much it was to be—that Cash required but little room and could pay but little storeage, were the U. S. even to consent that any should be paid for it.

At same time assured him, that this would probably occasion a very serious misunderstanding between the Countries, if persisted in; towards the close of our conversation, he admitted that it might, but seemed regardless of it, as he said the matter would then concern the Court, as its approbation before then, would relieve him from all responsibility. When I mentioned my surprize, that he could think it possible, that the Court would approve of such a measure, he said, there would be nothing extraordinary in it, as the Prince of Peace, had some time since, ordered him to impose a duty of six per cent on all produce which might be exported from our settlements, and on merchandize which might be imported for their use; which he had not complied with, as he supposed the Prince of Peace had in this case, forgot the stipulations of the Treaty, and that the thing was too glaring to be submitted to.<sup>42</sup>

From this you may judge, Sir, of the necessity of making such representations to the Court of Spain as will put it in mind of its engagements with us and will induce it, to give orders more agreeable to its stipulations, and which the officers shall be obliged punctually to comply with. I need not comment, on the Ignorance manifested on the part of the Minister, nor on the power usurped by the Officer in Luisiana, you will perceive the necessity of having the latter limited in future in all matters, which regard the Citizens of the U. States. I regret, that circumstanced as I am, I could not address the Intendant officially on the subject, which would have compelled him to answer me in writing so that I might have transmitted you his letters, as proofs of what I advance; you may however rely, that I have liberally advised you of what passed between us on the subject.

In addition to what I have already said, he mentioned, that he thought his Government authorized, to prohibit the residence of our Citizens, even for a few days at a time, in New Orleans, who might come there for the purpose of carrying on business, and that they might be restricted to their shipping; so preposterous an idea required but little ingenuity to refute, yet I am fully persuaded the thing may one day be attempted, and I think it necessary to give you this timely notice, to be prepared and to guard against the evil consequences that would result from attempting to carry it into execution. I told him when speaking on this subject, that our Government would insist upon having a deposit elsewhere, than at New Orleans, in some convenient place, where our Citizens would erect Stores to receive and to ship their produce from, and make their Exchanges at,<sup>43</sup> which would be very injurious to that City. He seemed sensible of it and I think a demand of this kind made by our Ambassador, and the reasons for doing so made public, even if the point were not insisted on,

<sup>41</sup> Treaty of 1795, art. XXII.: "to deposit their merchandize and effects in the port of New-Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores."

<sup>42</sup> King to intendant, Aranjuez, Jan. 13, 1803, approving three per cent. charge, in Consular Despatches, N. O.

<sup>43</sup> Treaty, art. XXII.: "or if he [the King of Spain] should not agree to continue it there, he will assign to them on another part of the banks of the Mississippi an equivalent establishment."

would be productive of much benefit—would procure us better treatment and would deter officers, from doing many things, when they found their conduct attracted the notice of the Government of the United States.

The situation of the Inhabitants on the Tombigbee, and the very serious inconveniencies they labor under, in being denied the right of importing or exporting in American bottoms by way of Mobile, must I presume be known to you. They are at present obliged to supply their wants from New Orleans, where the Merchandise they consume has already paid a duty, and the productions of the Country, not being allowed to be shipped direct for any market but that of New Orleans, are there subjected to a duty of 6 per cent on importation and 's much more on exportation. This expence is the more sensibly felt, as their fellow Citizens of the western part of the same territory, can send their produce to market, by way of the Mississippi, and are not subjected to it, and the principle being admitted with respect to that river, must, I think, of necessity, be extended to all others in similar cases.

I was in hopes that the Member from the Mississippi Territory to Congress, had been instructed by the Legislature, to bring this matter before the Executive, but hearing nothing on the subject, suppose that his Death prevented it.<sup>44</sup>

The want of American Pilots at the Balize is much felt by all those who navigate to this Country; delays, and losses, have often arisen, which can be imputed to this cause alone. There are none, but open boats, employed by the Spaniards, and vessels must arrive at the very mouth of the Pass, before a Pilot ventures off to them. Strangers arriving, are often in sight of the land a week before they discover, what particular point they should steer for; and very frequently, it is only by the departure of some vessel, or the arrival of one whose Captain is well acquainted with the navigation, that they at last come near the Bar where the Pilot boards them. If desirous of sounding the pass, they are prevented, altho' the Treaty expressly provides for the free navigation of the river from its Source to the Sea.<sup>45</sup> In case of grounding, there is no assistance to be procured nearer than N. Orleans; the delay that takes place before it can be obtained, exposes to shipwreck, and the scenes which in some of these occasions have taken place are shameful, beyond description. Every thing which could be, was plundered; and such difficulties thrown in the way of the sufferers that all attempts at procuring redress proved ineffectual.

The right of laying Embargoes, and detaining our shipping in the Mississippi, is another vexation to which our Commerce is exposed, and from which it can only be relieved by the interference of our Government. On the slightest pretence, these Embargoes have repeatedly taken place. Did an English Privateer appear before the Balize, the American Shipping were detained from a fear of giving information—was a Spanish ship expected to arrive, or preparing to sail, our shipping were still the victims of their prudence, and no entreaties, no expostulations could prevail, to have these Embargoes taken off till the object for which it was laid on was obtained. A low species of cunning and duplicity, unworthy even of those who practised them were made use of. Vessels were allowed to depart from New Orleans, furnished with the usual Pass, but

<sup>44</sup> Narsworthy Hunter, delegate to the Seventh Congress from the Mississippi Territory, died Mar. 11, 1802. His successor did not take his seat till Dec. 6.

<sup>45</sup> See note 30, *supra*.



when arrived at the Balize, the Pilots had orders to detain them—on complaint being made, the blame was laid on the pilots, but it was in vain to expect redress; and this farce, being from time to time renewed, as was found necessary, plainly showed, that the pilots always acted by order of Government, as this conduct was never pursued by them except on the particular cases before mentioned. To show how our Citizens were treated on these occasions and what they were exposed to, I forward you No. 3, a statement drawn up by Mr. Robert Lowry, of Baltimore, of what he himself witnessed and experienced; this is not a singular instance, the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. D. W. Coxe of Philadelphia and the detention of two of his ships some time since, in consequence of a dispute with the Pilots, is another instance of their arbitrary and unjust proceedings.

The intercourse, between our settlements on the waters of the Mississippi, and New Orleans, is now very great, and must in the natural course of things, daily increase. Great numbers of people are employed in navigating the Boats, which transport our produce to the place of Deposit, yet not one, even of these, is suffered to depart, tho' it be in an American vessel, without a Passport, for which a dollar and a half is exacted, and which it is often difficult to pay among boatmen. However trifling this tax may appear, when collected from each person, yet in the aggregate it forms a large sum, which the People of the Western Country already find oppressive and have often, tho' in vain, refused to pay.

On the death of a Citizen of the United States on the Mississippi, a misfortune which but too frequently occurs in the Summer, his property if he die intestate falls into the hands of Justice or the Administrators of it, and before the formalities can be complied with, the expences that accrue often consume the whole, nor is this all, the Government names the Administrator, in whose hands the proceeds are placed, and instances may occur where these depositaries prove unfaithful. During Governor Gayoso's administration, the Consul being recognized, took the steps pointed out by Law, to secure all property so left for the Heirs; but his successor <sup>46</sup> suspended the Consul from his functions, and ordered that in future all property left by Persons dying in Orleans should be disposed of as above related.

I flatter myself, that it will be required only to make these points known, to procure the interference of the Government of the United States, in favor of our Commerce, which stands at present, so much in need of its care and protection.

As in future the American vessels which navigate the Mississippi, will be prohibited from trading with the Spanish part of the province, and their commerce will be confined to a traffic with our own settlements, whose productions are deposited in New Orleans, should not the river be considered as common to the two nations, and our Vessels while in it, as in our own waters? The Spaniards already so far acknowledge this principle, that no Custom House officer is put on board of a vessel, whose sole object is to deposit a Cargo in Orleans, for the upper Country, or to receive produce entirely of its growth. But should it not be further extended, so that our vessels in no case whatever should be subjected to

<sup>46</sup> Brigadier-General Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos was governor from Aug. 1, 1797, to his death on July 18, 1799. His successor, the Marqués de Casa Calvo, served from September of that year to June 15, 1801, when he was succeeded by Brigadier-General Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo.



visits, searches, or the Crews, or Passengers, to arrest? As public vessels in foreign ports are exempted from searches, under the idea that national property is a part of the territory of the nation to which it belongs, and that consequently no foreign nation has a right to exercise a jurisdiction over it, so I look upon our Merchant vessels, on the Mississippi, as in our territory, and entitled to the privileges of national ships, in foreign ports—how far I should insist on this principle being acknowledged, on any future occasion, will lie with you to determine and if, as I wish, it ought to be asserted, I will not fail to do it strenuously, when exertion shall be called for.

It has lately become a practice with many traders and planters, bringing their produce to market, to navigate their boats with their Slaves, when hirelings could not be had—they have often met with difficulties, from the officers of the first Spanish forts below the Natchez; on some occasions, the Slaves have been taken out of the boats, and detained until the owner returned; on others, they have been compelled to find securities to reproduce the Slaves, there, on their way home at a stated time, and this has even occurred in New Orleans. To prevent a Sale of Slaves on their territory, is the pretext for this abuse of power, when the penalties annexed to such a practice are, I think, sufficiently secure, amounting in case of conviction, to confiscation of the Slave and imprisonment of the parties interested.

During the late War shipments of money (which are forbid by the laws of Spain) were often made for account of our Citizens, and under different pretexts, the vessels in which such shipments were made, were carried into British ports, where for want of proofs of property, they were often detained, until the Merchants of the U. S. could forward them. I solicit your advice to know, whether on any occasion I should grant a Certificate of property when I know a shipment to be made contrary to the existing laws; serious inconveniencies have often resulted from the want of them, but as the case appears to be delicate, I shall not presume to judge of it but await your decision, for the rule of my conduct.

As the Trade of Luisiana is now an object of importance,<sup>47</sup> and we shall in future be altogether excluded from it, measures might probably be taken with the Court of Spain, to procure us a participation in it, were it only on the same terms, on which, the inhabitants are allowed to trade with the Nations of Europe. They are now at liberty, to carry on a Commerce, under the Spanish flag, with any European Country, with which Spain is at peace, to receive from thence every thing they stand in need of, and ship off all the produce of the Country on paying duty of 6 per cent on Imports and Exports. With the U. States, this Commerce was interdicted, because Spain at that time had no Consuls in our ports and the regulation still exists; altho' a great many articles of India manufacture especially and some of the produce of the Country, must for a long time take a circuitous route by way of Europe from the U. S. before they reach the Province, which, from long use, they cannot and will not do without. Spain being neither a manufacturing, nor Commercial Country, derives no benefit whatever from Luisiana; a few small vessels with fruit and wines, keep up the only direct communication she has with it, and the returns for these cargoes are often made to the Ports of France. As the

<sup>47</sup> Figures as to its remarkable growth, from 1794 (introduction of sugar-cane) to 1799, are given in Channing, *History of the United States*, IV. 311–312, from the Archives of the Indies, Seville.

trade is therefore open to the nations of Europe, the exception seems singular in respect to us, and on application might be done away—if this were the case, the facility of masking our own vessels under the Spanish flag, the cheapness of our navigation compared with theirs, the industry, activity and Capitals of our Citizens who in the name of resident Citizens of New Orleans could carry on trade there, would not fail to engross a large share of the business of the Country to the great advantage of the United States. I have the Honor to remain with Sentiments of respect and Esteem

Your most obedient  
and humble Servant  
DANIEL CLARK

The Honble  
James Madison

III. W. E. HULINGS TO SECRETARY MADISON.<sup>48</sup>

triplicate Duplicate per Brig *Mariner*  
Via N York

NEW ORLEANS 20th Jan'y 1803

Sir

Your letter of the 29th November 1802, together with a letter for his Excellency the Govern. and one for the Intend't. were handed to me about 9 o'clock last Eveng. by an express from Govern. Claiborne, and were duly delivered by me. The inclosures for the Spanish Minister<sup>49</sup> are answers to the subject, having been prepared to go by a Capt. Danavre, who bro't. the originals from Philada. and who arrived here about the 13th Inst.—As usual in this Gov't. where the people have nothing to do with Governmental affairs, secrecy was observed on the arrival of the dispatches, however, it leaked out that such had arrived, their contents were guessed at, and the accounts ran as various as the imaginations of those that framed them; Yet the general impression was, that the Minister near the U. S. disapproved the Intend't's measures, and recommended the removal of the prohibition to deposit.—The Gazettes have truly stated that the Govern. was opposed to the act of the Intend't.—About the 21st Oct'r. last

<sup>48</sup> Hulings, vice-consul, was acting in lieu of Clark. Clark was absent from New Orleans (the second time that year) from late June, 1802, till Feb. 25, 1803. Letters in 6 Wallace 678 enable us to trace his journeyings: June 27, Plaquemines, hoping "tomorrow to get to sea"; July 27, Wilmington; Philadelphia till Aug. 7; New York, Aug. 17, sailing the next day; Oct. 7, Liverpool, having been there three days. In a letter to Wilkinson, New Orleans, Feb. 26, 1803, printed in the latter's *Memoirs*, II. 249, he says, "I arrived here late last night from Europe, last from Liverpool. I was in Paris till late in November. . . . I sailed from Liverpool on the 24th December". On Dec. 23 he writes to Madison from the Mersey (Consular Letters, N. O.) announcing the great expedition which Victor was to conduct from the ports of Holland to Louisiana. An interview he had with Victor in early November, and what he learned from the conversation, are recorded in Livingston to Madison, Nov. 11, *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, II. 526–527. Hulings's letter to Madison, Oct. 18, enclosing Morales's decree of Oct. 16 closing the port of deposit, is printed *ibid.*, II. 469–470.

<sup>49</sup> The Marqués de Casa Yrujo. His letter to Morales, Nov. 26, 1802, disapproving the closure, and the latter's reply, Jan. 15, are summarized in Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III. 576–577.

I waited on the Govr. and had a conversation with him on the subject of the deposit;<sup>50</sup> he assured me that he had opposed the Intend't. as far as he possibly could, without taking the responsibility on himself. That the Intend't. had done it on his own authority and responsibility, as he knew of no orders from his C. Majesty for that purpose; all of which was confirmed to me by the Secrey. of Govern't.<sup>51</sup> the same day. Notwithstanding. the Govr. gave the matter up, and the Intend't's decree was, and continues to be strictly executed to the extreme prejudice of the Citizens of the United States; who are denied the rights of hospitality in distress, as exemplified in the Case of Col. John Ellis, and Majr. Wm. Gordon Forman, communicated to you in my letter of 25 Novr. ulto.—The Intend't. is very reserved even to his chief Officers, and choosing to consider me only as a private Stranger, avoids giving (as it appears to me) an Opportunity to say any thing about the business in question. Nor have I been able to learn from any of the heads of the Departmts. (with all of whom I am well acquainted) any thing that shou'd have come from the Intend't. relative to the authority on which he acted. The said Officers are generally of Opinion that no orders have been recd. by the Intend't.<sup>52</sup>

If I might venture to offer an Opinion on a subject so well understood by you, I woud suggest that if the Intend't. open the port of deposit at the recommendation of the Minister, it will only operate as an Opiate; palliating, instead of eradicating the Evil; a repetition of the injury dependg. on the Caprice of an Intend't., and the acquiescence, or *non resistance* of a Govern't.—perhaps the present Circumstances offer the most favorable Opportunity to obtain a right in perpetuity to deposit in the town of New Orleans, (much the most desirable place, on Account of the many conveniences readily to be had) or if that is not Obtainable, to have an eligible, and permanent Establishment elsewhere, on the Banks of the Mississippi. Also to have their Consul, or agent Acknowledged, and furnished with the Royal Exequatur; a circumstance indispensably necessary, if the American trade, or the deposit exist here.—Neither of these concessions wou'd benefit the American Govern't. so much as the possession of the east Coast of the Mississippi from the present American limit's to the Sea. This establishmt. wou'd enable it to defend it's rights from the wanton encroachmt. of foreign Officers, secure the peaceable navigation of the River, and serve as a strong frontier Post to the rich, and growing western States. The quantity of sugar that might be produced with an improved culture of Extensive tracts of land, that now lay waste, is no inconsiderable weight in the scale of interest, and independence in foreign Countries.

I can learn nothing certain respecting the comg. of the French, nor do I discover any preparation for the delivery of the Country; nor do I suppose there will be any other than what is ordained in the royal order that I did myself the pleasure to transmit to you in a letter of the 15th Decr. last; the Copy of which I obtained privately by a friend. I need not pray you to use it as such.

<sup>50</sup> Morales's celebrated decree of Oct. 16, 1802, closing New Orleans as port of deposit under the treaty of 1795; text in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, II. 470

<sup>51</sup> Don Andrés López y Armesto.

<sup>52</sup> And so Morales declared to Laussat (Henry Adams, *History*, I. 420-421), but the contrary was the fact; Morales was ordered by the King of Spain to stop deposits, but to declare that he did it as the result of his own investigations. See the order in Channing, *History*, IV. 326-327.

The navigation of the River Mobile up to the American Forts, and from Mobile to New Orleans by way of the Lakes, and the Bayou (Creek) St. John, is an object of much growg. importance to the U. S. Indeed is positively necessary to the welfare of the American Settlements on that fine river.

I am Sir,

Most respectfully

Your very humle Servt. etc. etc.

WM E. HULINGS

The Honble

James Madison

Secry. of State

*(To be continued.)*

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*The Spiritual Element in History.* By ROBERT McLAUGHLIN.  
(New York and Cincinnati: Abingdon Press. 1926. Pp. 312.  
\$2.50.)

SPEAKING for the German situation Paul Tillich has said that the present engrossing theme is the metaphysic of history and that it is farther advanced than *die Metaphysik des Seins*. To that field properly belongs the problem which Mr. McLaughlin attempts to solve, the problem of the final meaning of history. The historian's task, he grants, is not the search for that final meaning, but, as he expresses it, to recapture the processes of the past by explaining the relation of facts that constitute events. Nevertheless he is addressing historians asking whether the historical process may not exhibit such a character as will induce them to transcend the limits of their departmental method and elicit from the movement of history conclusions consonant with faiths that are fundamental to Christianity. Modern science, he holds, tends to a spiritual view of nature; may not historical study also relate itself to this tendency? He would have us consider the past which history studies as due to the activity of three forms of energy, physical, mental, spiritual, and see these as varied forms of the expression of one Vast Mind Energy, so that the finite movement of life which the historian describes will mean an infinite in process of realization.

Inasmuch as it is normal for all men to have metaphysical faiths, however crude and awkward they may be, no historian need harden his heart to the invitation of this or kindred books, and since this is written by one who shows extensive historical reading, it merits consideration.

Mr. McLaughlin's argument seems somewhat blurred by repetitions, irrelevances, *obiter dicta*, but frequent summaries make the direct course of it reappear. It is an argument that historical occurrences are determined by the dominance of one or another of three conditioning factors: the action of the physical environment and economic necessity (Marx), of rational ideas (Hegel), or of constraining spiritual ideals (Augustine). These three "energies" co-operate so that comparison of the resultant events will justify the inference of certain laws of history, the term law meaning "repetitive constancy of events". The laws discovered are sequence of events, unity pervading events, progress seen in events. As the ground of such relatedness, Mr. McLaughlin holds we must infer a Vast Mind Energy, a Being who in his creation is in process of becoming, though he also transcends that process. Involved in this continuing process human life has a goal—perfected personality, and that is already

historically exhibited in Christ, absolutely perfect in character and with absolute perfection of teaching. The faith which accepts the assumption of God in history is faith in Christ.

It may be questioned whether these tentative generalizations about the process of history are an adequate basis for so great a conclusion, a conclusion which utters the divinations of a religious consciousness with its own independent and valid procedure.

One may question also whether the physical, mental, and spiritual conditions found for historical events are properly termed energy. Surely, also, an historian may object to the representation of Hegel as meaning anything so trivial as that rational ideas play a part in historical events. Hegel's explanation of all history by the dialectic process of the Absolute Self is another matter. And what precisely is meant by the spiritual element? As most often expressed it seems to mean the immanent influence of human ideals, while on other pages it means an influx of transcendent spiritual energy, or what the theologians term grace. But even with such hesitating questions, a reflective historian will find useful suggestions in the work.

F. A. C.

*Decline of the West.* By OSWALD SPENGLER, translated by Charles F. Atkinson. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1926. Pp. xviii, 443. \$6.00.)

THIS stout volume, the first of two, affords convincing evidence that its author has amassed a prodigious store of learning, incomparable to that possessed by any other living historian, save possibly Eduard Meyer. Others besides myself, in witnessing the huge volume of historical writing, have doubtless asked whither it all led, what the goal might be. A consoling thought has always been that one day a giant mind would arise endowed with power to grasp this stupendous mass of erudition, with insight to perceive the true relations between its diverse and multitudinous details; a mind endowed as well with penetration to fathom its deepest meaning and with literary power to make this meaning clear to less vigorous and perspicacious minds. To this ideal Spengler has made a close approach. He has done more than any other thinker to give logical order and coherence to the vast and perplexing mass of human happenings, to show the organic and spiritual bonds which give them unity, and to find their ultimate significance.

In expounding his conception of history Spengler contrasts two modes of knowing or apprehending the world. One mode, the scientific, shows us the world organized as nature; the other, the historical, shows us the world organized as history. Science deals with things-become, with dead forms which are mechanically defined, with forms correct once for all, which can be numbered, measured, and brought under law. Science thus creates, or synthesizes the world-as-nature.

History, on the other hand, deals with things-becoming, with human

life and development; with living nature in contrast to dead nature, with the world-as-organism in contrast to the world-as-mechanism. This changing human life, with all its manifestations in the past and present, is the world-as-history. Its components can not be measured, calculated, or reduced under law; it is not subject even to the law of cause and effect. It is, on the contrary, governed by Destiny, which fact constitutes the essence and kernel of all history.

In looking backward over human history we find that it comprises various cultures, as the Egyptian, Indian, Classical, and Western. Each of these cultures is a vast, living, human organism, endowed with an ego, a personality, with a metaphysical structure, a culture-soul. The culture-soul expresses itself in all the phenomena of its history, in peoples and nations, in language and literature, in government, science, the arts, and all other conceivable human manifestations. These are the expression-forms of the soul and together constitute the culture. Through them the soul actualizes itself and history is thus a culture-soul in process of becoming.

The visible surface of history, with its vast number of events, institutions, and phenomena generally, has the same relation to the culture-soul as do the appearance, bearing, manner, air, stride of the individual person to his soul. "In the knowledge of men these things exist and matter. The body is an expression of the soul. But henceforth 'knowledge of men' implies also knowledge of those superlative human organisms which I call Cultures and of their mien, their speech, their acts—these terms being meant as we mean them already in the case of the individual" (p. 101). "What concerns us is not what the historical facts *are* which appear at this time or that, but what they *signify*, what they point to by appearing" (p. 6). One problem of the historian, therefore, is to study the superficies, the external and visible phenomena of a culture, in order to understand the nature of the metaphysical structure of which they are the symbol or expression. Thus to read the soul of a culture through its exterior Spengler calls the art of "Physiognomic". He states as follows the all-inclusive problem on which the historians of the future will labor: "In a hundred years all sciences that are still possible on this soil (the West) will be parts of a single, vast Physiognomic of all things human. That is what the morphology of world history means" (p. 100). And for Spengler to create a morphology of world history is the supreme problem of the historians; to the present time they have done little more than accumulate the data from which the real history will be written.

As the great cultures are organisms, and as youth, maturity, and old age are fundamental to everything organic, Spengler transfers these notions to the sphere of history, though at times he designates as spring, summer, autumn, and winter the stages which all cultures must traverse in ordered and obligatory sequence. The cultures develop, however, with no more plan, aim, or goal than a group of butterflies or orchids; each grows as a plant grows, because of inward driving force, because it must fulfill its destiny. They are not even governed by the law of causality.



One complex of phenomena is no more the cause of the succeeding complex than the stem causes the leaf or the bud the blossom.

Parallel stages in the development of each culture have the same characteristics, though not revealed in the same expression-forms, because each culture is unique in its metaphysical being. This parallelism is summarized in tables at the close of the book, where the resemblances between several of the great cultures in each stage of their development may be seen.

When a culture-soul has realized, or actualized, all its possibilities in expression-forms, as government, literature, economics, and religion, it becomes a civilization. "Civilizations are the most external and artificial states of which a species of developed humanity is capable. They are a conclusion, the thing-become succeeding the thing-becoming, death following life, rigidity following expansion, intellectual age and the stone-built petrifying world-city following mother earth and the spiritual childhood of the Doric and Gothic. They are an end, irrevocable, yet by inward necessity reached again and again" (p. 31).

This transition from culture to civilization was accomplished, for the Western world, Spengler believes, during the nineteenth century. It is marked by a civilization centring in great cities, by the extinction of spiritual creative force, by irreligion, materialism, and imperialism. Imperialism will definitely close the history of West-European mankind. The outcome is obligatory and can not be modified. As each culture has its own unique soul and as all its historical phenomena are the expressions of this soul, they possess an inner unity, are pervaded by a deep uniformity, are bound together by a morphological relationship. One of Spengler's most brilliant intellectual feats is the analysis by which he shows the resemblance between the city-state, the geometry, the drama, the music, and the funereal customs of the Greeks and between similarly diverse expression-forms of Western culture.

His book marks an epoch in the development of historical science, because it is a new revelation of the soul of Western culture. He expounds a new philosophy and conception of history, lays down new principles of methodology, envisages new purposes and goals, and posits new problems for the historian. In brief, he works a veritable revolution in historical science.

E. E. SPERRY.

*Mélanges d'Histoire offerts à Henri Pirenne par ses Anciens Élèves et ses Amis à l'Occasion de sa Quarantième Année d'Enseignement à l'Université de Gand, 1886-1926.* Deux tomes. (Brussels: Vromont and Company. 1926. Pp. xxxix, 678.)

As a tribute to a great scholar and a great teacher the two handsome volumes which compose this work have seldom been equalled. The committee in charge of the enterprise deserves congratulations on its successful achievement.

The preface contains a list of books and articles published by Pirenne. This list contains over 230 titles, ranging from reviews to large collaborative works of which he was editor. This does not reckon the hundred or more brief items which he contributed to encyclopaedias of various kinds, though the subjects of biographical sketches which he contributed to the *Biographie Nationale* are appended. These works have been grouped topically under historiography, historical technics, works on general history, on special phases of general history, on the Low Countries and Belgium, on the World War, and miscellaneous. The list, while truly impressive in amount and variety, is even more impressive as a record of remarkable fidelity to the ideals of historical scholarship.

At first glance, one misses any attempt at a biographical sketch or estimate of the significance of Pirenne's scholarship. Trained in the most exacting school of historical scholarship of Europe, he profited from his own location to appreciate alike German profundity and meticulous criticism, French clarity, and English devotion to the actual. He was thoroughly schooled in the critical discussion of the origins of the mark and market, nobility and bourgeoisie, but he was able to avoid the metaphysical and arid extremes to which that investigation led. Never losing the fine craftsmanship which that training afforded, he turned it rather to the more actual and productive field of economic history in which he has become a great master. By treating the institutional phases of economic life, he commanded the respect of those of his contemporaries who delved most deeply in the metaphysical aspects of institutional history, but he also kept in view the actual activities in industry, commerce, and community life by which those institutions were always modified. For this he likewise commands the respect of the best of the more recent scholarship. His forty years of teaching, the occasion for this tribute, and his even longer period of productive scholarship have left him the outstanding figure among the active workers in this field. Most of his great contemporaries are already gone or recently retired. He alone remains of the great trio of Belgian historians—Godefroy Kurth, Paul Fredericq, and Henri Pirenne—who conferred such distinction upon their little country.

The well-chosen pastel portrait showing the scholar in his study which is reproduced in the frontispiece, the classified list of his writings, and the list of his pupils and friends who contributed to these volumes, form the most agreeable biographical sketch possible at this time. The list of the contributors, sixty-five in number, contains the names of distinguished scholars from Belgium, Holland, France, England, Italy, Spain, Norway, Greece, Egypt, and South Africa. The United States is well represented by Messrs. Haskins, Rostovtzeff, C. Stephenson, C. H. Taylor, and J. W. Thompson.

The number of contributors is unusually large, and the length of the individual contributions almost uniformly brief. No field or phase of European history is altogether untouched. While a large proportion of the articles fall within the medieval period, and are concerned with eco-

nomic or institutional history, there is a very considerable space allotted to the modern period and some to the ancient. Learning, literature, diplomacy, political thought, and social development all receive attention. Only a few of the articles are of a general interpretative character. The great majority are direct contributions based upon source-material. It would be futile to attempt an evaluation of these contributions. Merely to list the names of the contributors and the titles of their articles would more than exhaust the limits of this review. It will suffice to say that the list of American contributors is typical. France and England, Belgium and Holland, are equally well represented and in even greater numbers. The list includes Sir William Ashley, H. Hauser, M. Prou, H. Sée, H. Stein, T. F. Tout, and V. Ussani, to mention only a few of the older scholars. Quite aside from the sentimental reasons the work will be welcomed by those interested in European history whether medieval, modern, or ancient.

A. C. KREY.

*The Conquest of Civilization.* By JAMES HENRY BREASTED. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1926. Pp. xxvi, 717. \$5.00.)

IN 1916 there appeared from the press of Ginn and Company a textbook entitled, *Ancient Times, a History of the Early World*, by Professor James Henry Breasted, of the University of Chicago, and intended to be "simple enough for first-year high-school work", but "planned to interest and stimulate all students of high-school age". Its success matched its high excellence and it has been generally, almost universally, used by all of us who have had any ancient history teaching to do. It has now reappeared as a book for maturer minds, dressed up in library rather than in school-book form, and its success in its new rôle should be equal to or even surpass its earlier experience. Breasted is primarily an Egyptologist, and no American scholar of our day has had opportunities equal to his in that difficult but entrancing field. He has been flitting back and forth these many years between Egypt and Chicago with every possible chance of seeing and hearing everything that has gone on in his field in Berlin, Paris, and London. It is worth while to mention this for it not only gives explanation, but really illuminates the whole book. Egypt is first in this book, first and last, and all the way between, in the enthusiasm which its gifted and learned author displays. To those of us who have spent strength on other fields it must at times seem rather excessive loyalty to the incomparable valley of the Nile. Every new discovery in Babylonia only reassures Breasted as to the primacy of Egypt. He has been reading of the publication of Babylonian dynastic lists, and then he writes, "They are at most a little earlier than 3000 B. C. Thus it is now a finally established fact that civilization first arose in Egypt, followed a few centuries later by Babylonia" (p. ix). I take the cheerful liberty of doubting this "finality", and am much disposed to believe that it will be upset when

Woolley has finished his work at Ur. Breasted is still sure of the introduction of the calendar in 4241 B. C., and calls that "the earliest dated event in history" (p. 55). On this also I am an unpersuaded unbeliever. Ikhnaton is still celebrated almost in dithyrambic fashion, as the first monotheist, but is happily no longer described as the world's "first individual" (*Camb. Anc. Hist.*, II. 127.) Again the claim is still made that the Egyptians had twenty-four letters in an alphabet. "It was thus the earliest alphabet known" (p. 51). But what a poor possession it was when it was not used, and the glory of really alphabetic writing must still be ascribed to the Phoenicians (pp. 162, 287, 496). These are, however, only the spots on the sun, and we who are interested in history need only wish that this book might win many from the flood of novels to find here an introduction to the glorious story of Greece, or the wonder of Rome, for this is a comprehensive book whose narrative begins with the dawn of history and concludes only with 1453 A. D., and in its field there is no worthy competitor. Let us do what we may to circulate it, for it will provide us with pupils, to whom we shall be free to advocate each his own particular enthusiasm. The book is well printed, most beautifully and instructively illustrated, and soundly made in every other respect.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

*The History of the Ancient World.* By M. ROSTOVTZEFF, Hon. D.Litt., Professor of Ancient History in Yale University. Volume I., *The Orient and Greece*. Translated from the Russian by J. D. Duff. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. xxiii, 418. 21 s.)

AMERICA OWES Professor Rostovtzeff to the Russian Revolution. We owe his *History of the Ancient World* to his lectures at the University of Wisconsin. The first volume covers the Orient and Greece. Its availability as a text-book will doubtless be discussed elsewhere. Here we shall consider it only as presenting the matured conclusions of one of the leading authorities in ancient history.

Rostovtzeff begins with a brief but excellent chapter on History, its Aims and Methods. He gives full attention to anthropology, so well prepared to formulate the "laws of history", though so generally ignored by the professional historian. This is followed by another brief chapter on Ancient History, its Problems and Importance. The remainder of the volume is divided into three sections, nine chapters devoted to the Orient, twelve to Greece, and three to the Hellenistic period. Greece proper is thus allowed but a bare half of the space. More conservative students of Greek and Roman history will doubtless consider this a sad disproportion; the present reviewer welcomes it as a step in the right direction.

Rostovtzeff's account of the Orient is properly introduced by a brief sketch of prehistory. It is to be regretted that he has confined himself to the most general terms. Prehistory and history blend imperceptibly in

the Near East, and those who know the wide sweep of insight shown in his "Treasure of Astrabad", will regret that he has not given us that general sketch of Near Eastern prehistory which he is so well fitted to present. Rostovtzeff appears to believe, contrary to general opinion, that the nomadic stage preceded the agricultural in the Near East. However that may be, the remains at Harajel under Mount Lebanon show a cold period with the woolly rhinoceros, probably dating to the last glaciation, in which two of the four chief elements of neolithic civilization, the use of polished implements and the employment of pottery, are already present.

While Rostovtzeff is not a specialist in the history of the Ancient Orient, his interests have brought him into contact with its problems to an unusual degree. Taken as a whole, his presentation of its history deserves only praise, and every Orientalist must consider his fresh and illuminating interpretations. The value of a study of a field of history by a specialist in one adjoining could find no better illustration.

In presentation, Rostovtzeff has gone his own way. The traditional separation of the early cultures of Egypt and of Babylonia is rightly rejected, for much is gained by studying the Ancient Near East as a whole. His article on the Treasure of Astrabad was a revelation, for it showed how much the civilizations of protohistoric Egypt, Babylonia, Elam, and even Central Asia had in common. For those who have not followed recent discussions, the likenesses will be nothing less than startling, and they fully justify Rostovtzeff in describing them together. Once these similarities are grasped, it is possible to detect the differences and to understand for the first time the essential elements of the different national cultures.

Another rejection of the traditional arrangement is the placing of Mesopotamia before Egypt. There is much to be said for this arrangement, though Rostovtzeff by no means strengthens the arguments of those who place the civilization of Babylonia before that of Egypt. The old discussions as to the relative priority of the two cultures cease to have much point when we realize that the whole problem of origins is thrown back into protohistoric if not truly prehistoric times, when we already have one common chalcolithic culture, though with strongly marked local peculiarities.

Succeeding chapters trace alternately the political history and the culture through the fourth and third, the second, and the first pre-Christian millenniums. They are followed by chapters on the political, social, and economic organization of the Oriental world empires, and on the religious development of the Eastern world.

Here again we find a remarkable mastery of the material. Now and then the reviewer might disagree with the conclusions, more often one's attention is challenged by new and stimulating views. The sections dealing with Egypt and Babylonia are excellent. As might be expected from the author's interest in the Iranians, the portions devoted to Persia are particularly meritorious. Rostovtzeff fully appreciates the good points

in the Persian Empire and defends them against the traditional view which we have inherited from their enemies, the Greeks.

Nowhere else can there be found so much essential information on Assyrian culture packed into so small a space. His appreciation reaches its climax in his discussion of Assyrian art (p. 137). It is full of life, to which every detail is true. He finds in it romantic and idyllic notes, with even a marked element of humor. "The technical power is astonishing; even the Greeks never succeeded in catching so completely and conveying so realistically the essential features, external and internal, of animal life." "Their craftsmen could refashion what was old, make it their own, and import into it a new and original element."

Nevertheless, even in, or rather, most emphatically in their art, Rostovtzeff sees only the traditional Assyrian cruelty. That the Assyrian was cruel no historian would deny. That they were more cruel than other peoples of antiquity can not be proved, if we consider the evidence. Historians of Assyria have told the whole truth, sometimes more than the truth, for the Assyrians realized the very practical use of terror, and often sadly exaggerated. It would be worth while for some student to make a statistical study of ancient frightfulness. The results would be, to say the least, startling. Rostovtzeff cites the Assyrian battle-scenes as indicative of Assyrian character. There are as many battle-scenes in Egypt as in Assyria, not to speak of the frequent picture of the king killing the captive leader with the mace. Egyptian sources relate and picture indecent mutilation of the dead. Could anything be more horrible than the Persian punishment of the boat?

Those who have studied the Greeks and Romans, not from the manuals but from the sources, know that classical culture was in no respect superior. Let us cite Rostovtzeff himself (p. 204) as witness: "Thus at Miletus the people were at first victorious and murdered the wives and children of the aristocrats; then the aristocrats prevailed and burned their opponents alive, lighting up the open spaces of the city with live torches." There is a seamy side of classical life which is only too often ignored in the popular works.

Most students of the classics will be inclined to condemn Rostovtzeff for giving so little attention to the "great ages of Greece", but such compression was necessary if the proper place was to be given to the Orient. Within the limits necessitated by his plan, Rostovtzeff has done well. Many familiar and interesting episodes are omitted, but the general picture of Greek culture is all the clearer for the omission. Students who have had difficulty in seeing the wood for the trees, when using the common text-books, will be able to realize Greek culture as a whole.

In no respect is Rostovtzeff's ignoring of former convention more clearly evident than in the large part given to the Hellenistic world. Not many years ago, one of our greatest authorities in ancient history produced a high-school text in which exactly one page more was assigned to the Peloponnesian War than to the entire Hellenistic period. Here



the proportions are eight and thirty-six. In this period, Rostovtzeff is a master, and nowhere can there be found so splendid a bird's-eye view.

In two respects, the *Ancient World* marks a vast improvement on preceding volumes. With the exception of Westermann's *Story of the Ancient Nations*, a high-school text, too little attention has been devoted to the economic life. Rostovtzeff is by no means an economic determinist. As he presents them, economic factors play their rightful part, and only their rightful part, in the general development. One is constantly tempted to cite pertinent examples, but one must suffice. How much more illuminating than the recital of many battles is the citing (p. 275) of the huge quantities of Athenian pottery found in the West as an indication of that western trade which was one cause of the Peloponnesian War.

Interest in economics is rarely found united to a keen appreciation of art, but Rostovtzeff is the exception. Yet he is no mere esthete. He is first of all a historian, whose primary interest is in the history of art, and who uses it to discover evolution in culture. His *Ancient World* is the best source-book for ancient art that we possess. His choice of subject is unerring. A few of the old familiar subjects are of necessity included, but the majority will be quite unfamiliar to the general student. A considerable number have been taken from works only recently published. The mechanical execution is faultless.

Rostovtzeff's accuracy is amazing. Only one actual error has been found (p. 77). The published Amarna letters are many more than 174, and their chief importance lies, not in the few which deal with international relations, but in the many which show us Palestine just before or during the Hebrew conquest.<sup>1</sup>

Citizens of a democracy will be shocked by Rostovtzeff's declaration (p. 315) that the blame for the Greek political anarchy which resulted in the Macedonian conquest should be laid "most of all, on democracy". Greek democracy had its defects, perhaps the greatest its failure to develop a representative system. To be fair, however, we should remember that important states, notably Sparta, never approximated democracy. We should remember that it was under the extreme democracy of Athens that the Greek world came nearest union, and that democracy regularly supported Athens against aristocratic particularism. Most of all, we should remember that when anarchy came, socialistic democracy at Athens was long in the past and that the fourth century saw a distinct swing toward conservatism. The "tendency to separation innate in the Greek mind", which Rostovtzeff places first, added to the peculiarities of the city-state, irrespective of constitution, is quite sufficient to explain the failure.

Rostovtzeff approaches his subject from the standpoint of Greek and Roman history, the interests of the present reviewer lie primarily in the Orient; it is encouraging to see how generally the two are in agreement.

<sup>1</sup> Of misprints, there have been noted one in the text, Dörpfeld for Dörpfeld, p. 79, one on a plate, Kafre for Khafre, pl. V., and four on the map of Assyria, Khilappu for Khilakku, Kul for Kue, Tire for Tyre, and Bitham Ban for Bit Hamban.



*Luckenbill: Records of Babylon and Assyria* 835

We await with keen anticipation his volume on Rome, of which his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* has given us a foretaste.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

*Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia.* By DANIEL DAVID LUCKENBILL, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago. Two volumes. (Chicago: University Press. 1926. Pp. xvi, 297; xii, 504. \$8.00.)

A STRANGE man indeed would he be who did not greet with unalloyed pleasure the sight of these two volumes. Here are the sources, the original sources of our knowledge of Assyrian history from Ititi to Sin-sharishkum, from 2500 B. C. or even earlier to 612 B. C. Here are hundreds of inscriptions, most carefully documented, most admirably translated. It is a treasure house for the student of ancient Oriental history not only never before surpassed, but never before equalled. If Dr. Luckenbill does not give himself a quiet, calm stir of a not ignoble pride he will be denying poor human nature her just rights. We owe these two volumes to him, but our just sense of gratitude must extend also to the lamented William R. Harper, incomparable teacher of Hebrew in our day, who first proposed plans for a series of publications in the Oriental field, and to Professor James H. Breasted who had the courage to begin the great effort with his still indispensable *Ancient Records of Egypt*, published in 1906-1907. There the great and daring enterprise halted for time, opportunity, and funds, until after the cruel suspension of the great war Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., to whom so much else is due, reached out in 1919 and supplied the means for a resumption of activity on a large scale. Here are the first fruits in these two big volumes. To these there must yet be added four more volumes to contain the Babylonian historical inscriptions, ancient law and business, literary and religious texts and letters. It is a great task of immense labor. May it go forward to an early and happy conclusion. For those of us who have known of all these things from the beginning there are sad shadows flitting over these pages, William R. Harper, and his brother Robert F. Harper, who year after year copied and published Assyrian letters, both gone on before us, but both leaving a record of honorable effort. Much do we owe to their university, the newly constituted University of Chicago. Let the reader try to conceive what our situation will be in these studies when that home of learning presents to us an Assyrian dictionary for which already 600,000 cards are on file. This our old friend Professor Bezold intended to accomplish at Heidelberg, but death called him hence and we have only his *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar* (Heidelberg, 1926). What he could not, that let us hope that Luckenbill may do.

What shall I more say to arouse interest in these two volumes now in our hands? One might appeal to Biblical students as well as historical to open and see what Israel's neighbors have left us. Aye and many other

of those who would fain get a step further back in the past beyond Greece and Rome. To these all I commend these volumes. I have spent a life over these texts and my judgment of the high excellence of this new contribution ought to be worth something. I should translate here and there a bit differently, but I have not the effrontery to measure swords with a man who has 600,000 cards with references and meanings, while I have only the printed lists in German, French, and English with my own personal gleanings. But just as a "flier" I should now and again take a chance which Luckenbill probably knows, as for example, I should translate *mehru*-trees as "plane trees" (I. 167) and *pagutu* as "ape" (I. 166, 189), and I wonder whether *senkurri* should be *simkurri*, and how would "falcon" do for a rendering? But Luckenbill is already laughing and I forbear.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

*Fouilles de Doura-Europos, 1922-1923.* Par FRANZ CUMONT.  
[Haut-Commissariat de la République Française en Syrie et au Liban: Service des Antiquités et des Beaux Arts, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, tome IX.] (Paris: P. Geuthner. 1926. Pp. lxxviii, 533, plates 124.)

It is a thrilling story, that of the discovery of Doura-Europos on the banks of the Euphrates! At the end of the great war (in 1921) an Englishman, Captain Murphy, at the head of a detachment of English colonial soldiers, discovered by an accident wonderful frescoes in the ruins of an ancient fortress (Salihiyeh is the modern name of the place) which the detachment occupied. His report to his chief was sent to Bagdad to the late Miss Gertrude Bell. At this time Professor J. H. Breasted of Chicago was making an archaeological survey of Mesopotamia. He was informed of the discovery and was offered military help by the English authorities. At once he rushed to the place and found the English detachment ready to leave the fortress. In one day (May 3) he succeeded not only in photographing, measuring, and describing minutely the frescoes, but also in making a short supplementary excavation and in carrying out a general survey of the place. His report to the French Academy of Inscriptions, printed with a note by Cumont in *Syria* (vol. III., 1922) and in a separate book, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting* (Chicago, 1923), aroused such an interest in the learned society that it was decided by the French Academy to take up at once the work of completing the excavations. Professor F. Cumont was appointed to carry out this work. The Syrian government and the French Haut-Commissariat of Syria gave the necessary protection and the labor (soldiers of the Foreign Legion), and in two campaigns (1922 and 1923) a part of the site was excavated. Some additional excavations have been carried out in 1924 also, in the absence of Cumont.

Such is the story of the Doura excavations. Now the story of the book under review. We are used to hearing of interesting excavations,

reading articles about them in the newspapers and in learned periodicals and . . . waiting years for a final publication. It is useless to quote instances; there are scores of them both in Europe and in this country. The unbounded energy of Cumont, however, and his keen sense of duty have performed a deed which arouses our full admiration. Not only did he inform the French Academy and the learned world of the progress of his excavations in many a brilliant article, he found also the necessary time to complete in less than one year the final publication of his excavations, a big volume of about 600 pages of text illustrated by an atlas of 124 plates! Glory and honor to him! He has set an example which ought to be followed by all excavators!

And what he now offers to his readers is not a dry diary of his excavations, a mere description of ruins and of the archaeological material found in the ruins. The learned world knows Cumont. His works on the history of Oriental religions, on astrology, on the history of the provinces of the Roman Empire, his reports on his extended travels in Asia Minor and in Syria are masterpieces of historical research. Everybody knows how wonderfully Cumont combines in his person the excellent training of a classical philologist, a far-reaching information in matters Oriental, a perfect historical method, and a first-class knowledge of archaeology, both Oriental and Greek and Roman. No wonder that his report on the excavations at Doura is a first-class book which ought to be read by everybody and is a model of historical and archaeological research. With his help we see Doura arising from its ruins; the skeleton of the city becomes covered with flesh, blood circulates in it; an important chapter in ancient history is revealed to us.

No doubt the excavations of Doura are a revelation to every student of classical and Oriental antiquity. Not that objects of great artistic, or texts of unusual historical value were discovered. Doura was not a rich city and played no important part in the history of civilization. It reflects the history of civilization rather than creates it. But it reflects some pages in this history which were hitherto almost completely unknown and leads us into periods and lands which used to be a dark spot in our information.

What is Doura and why are the excavations at Doura of such an importance? I should not say that Doura is a Syrian Pompeii. Pompeii is unique and no other place can vie with Pompeii. However, in some respects Doura is a Syrian Pompeii. Like Pompeii it is primarily a Hellenistic city. Like Pompeii it shows the gradual absorption and modification of Hellenistic civilization by a non-Greek population—the Italians in Pompeii, the Syrians in Doura. It reveals to us for the first time what Syrian Hellenism used to be, as Pompeii is revealing to us what Italian Hellenism was, how it gradually developed, and how it was transformed into Italian and Roman civilization.

Doura-Europos was one of the many Macedonian colonies which were created all over the Near East by the efforts of the early successors of Alexander the Great, especially by one of his younger generals, Seleucus,

afterward king of the Syrian Empire. Doura-Europos (the first is the native, Semitic, the second the Macedonian name of the city), with its wonderful fortifications which still exist, with its net of streets laid out on the Hippodamian system which is still the system of the American cities, with its temples and public buildings, was built by one of Seleucus's generals—Nicanor. We know the names of many of these military Hellenistic colonies. We are able to locate some of them. But no one of them has been hitherto excavated. This means that we know nothing about the external aspect of these colonies, about their organization, about their life. And without these we can not even attack one of the most important problems of ancient history, the problem of how far the Near East, the cradle of human civilization, was Hellenized by the efforts of Alexander and of his successors. Doura is the first place which gives us authentic material for attacking this problem. Of course, much of the material which has been discovered at Doura is of a later date—Parthian and Roman—and yet the fortifications of the city, its plan, some of its buildings are early Hellenistic. Most of its later residents were the descendants of the Macedonian soldiers. The organization of the city, political, social, and economic, was first framed in this period, and the city retained the main lines of this organization for centuries. Hellenistic also is the civil law as revealed to us by fragments of parchment found by Cumont, of which more later.

When Mesopotamia was conquered by the Parthians, Doura became one of those Greco-Parthian cities which formed the backbone of the Parthian Empire, the great rival of that of Rome. It is well known how little we know about the Parthian Empire and how eager we are to know more, especially on the relations between the reborn Iranism of Parthia and the post-Alexandrian Hellenism of the Near East. The material found at Doura allows us for the first time to lift one corner of the thick veil which has hitherto covered this important historical question.

The new conditions created in the Near East by the Parthian conquest of Mesopotamia, the new routes which began to be used at this time by world-commerce, gave rise to a city, before this time an unimportant hamlet, but whose fame has become worldwide—I mean the city of Palmyra with its wonderful ruins. Situated between the two rival empires—Parthia and Rome—Palmyra was skillful enough to keep the balance between the two and to profit by its sincere neutrality. It became in the first and second centuries A. D. one of the richest cities of the Near East, a city of caravan-merchants, of international trade, and a city of peculiar civilization—an interesting blend of Greek, Syrian, and Parthian, *i.e.*, Iranian, elements. The ruins of Palmyra, famous as they are, are little known and have been little studied. A new era opens now for Palmyra also: systematic excavations at Palmyra have been begun and are in progress. Doura naturally became an annex of Palmyra, one of the fortresses to protect its growing commerce. And in this period of

its existence it was a Palmyra in miniature, easy to study and easier to understand than its opulent and colossal mistress.

Finally both Palmyra and Doura came under the sway of the Roman Empire. Hadrian succeeded in making Palmyra and its minor cities his vassals, and Septimius Severus transformed them into regular provincial cities of the Roman Empire (some of them received the title of Roman colony). Our information on the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire is better than that on the Greek Seleucid Syrian empire. However, what we know mostly refers to Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. Mesopotamia, which formed for a short time a Roman province, has remained a dark spot for us. And here again the excavations of Doura throw new and thrilling light on this dark spot. At the end of the third century, after the well-known episode of Zenobia and her Palmyrene Empire, Doura disappears from the historical stage. It was in this crisis probably that Doura was left by its residents; its houses decayed; its streets were covered with sand. Doura became a ruin and waited for her excavators.

Cumont worked at Doura with very inadequate means and but for a short time. And yet the results of his excavations are marvellous. It is due both to his skill and to the incomparable site. Excavation there is not difficult. Remove two metres of sand and rubbish and you have the skeleton of the city! Doura is now a part of the Syrian desert. And the desert sand is a wonderful custodian of many things which decay in the moist earth. This is the reason why in the small portion of the city which has been excavated by Cumont so much and so well-preserved archaeological material was found. And every excavated part revealed things unique in their interest. Certain towers of the walls of the city were freed from the sand. In each one a wealth of rare objects was found, *e.g.*, arms and weapons of the Palmyrene soldiers who occupied the towers, among them a unique shield on which a map was painted showing the travels of the soldier or officer who was the owner of the shield; we see the Black Sea, the cities of its western shore with their names, the Crimea, the Roman fortress of Chersonesus, the southern shore of the Black Sea, and the far distant Armenian Artaxata. But this is not all. The sand has also preserved for us fragments of documents on parchment, equal in their importance to the Greek Egyptian papyri. Most of them are in Greek, one in Latin, one in Aramaic. One fragment of a codex contains the beginning of a Hellenistic law on inheritance, some fragments are parts of sale-contracts and of various business documents, some are private letters, one fragment contains the daily register (*pridianum*) of the cohort of Palmyrene soldiers. The find is unique (hitherto we have had only the couple of parchments recently found at Avroman in Kurdistan) and it is promising. If such valuable documents were found in the towers, how many more might be hidden in the ruins of public buildings and private houses!

Besides some (not all) towers two temples were excavated, both unique. One is the famous temple of the Palmyrene gods, the chapel

of the Palmyrene garrison. Some of the interesting frescoes of this temple have been published by Breasted; others were found later by Cumont. Not only is this fresco decoration of a Palmyrene temple, so Oriental in its aspect, enormously important for the history of religions, but the frescoes are also a revelation to the historian of art. It is well known how deeply we are interested just now in the history of both the Moslem and the pre-Moslem art of the Orient and in the history of early Christian art. It is now for the first time, however, that the gulf between the art of the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Phoenician Orient and early Moslem and early Christian art is bridged. The frescoes of Doura are the bridge. When art historians heretofore have spoken of the Syrian element in early Christian art, "Syrian" was a guess, its peculiarities being derived from later monuments not Syrian. Now we have a genuine Syrian wall decoration: one of the first century A. D., another of the third century. We may study them and verify our definitions of the Syrian element in the Christian art.

Not less interesting is the temple of the Oriental, slightly Hellenized goddess Artemis-Nanaia in the centre of the city. Its plan, its chapels, its statues, its inscriptions are unique, as unique are the two theatres, with personal seats for the female aristocracy of Doura, in which some religious ceremonies were performed, and of which we should like to know more. I may mention here the pretty little statue of Aphrodite which had been found here, a fine example of the early Hellenistic post-Praxitelean art.

At the end of the preface to his remarkable book Cumont says (p. ix):

Je voudrais, en terminant, exprimer le voeu que, la paix rétablie en Syrie, les fouilles puissent être reprises à Doura. En 1924 il fut possible d'y envoyer seulement un très petit nombre de soldats, qui mirent au jour quelques menus objets intéressants; en 1925, les recherches durent être entièrement suspendues. Cependant il est peu de sites antiques où elles puissent être plus fécondes. Dans le vaste champ de ruines qui couvrent le plateau de Salihyeh, deux temples seulement ont été sérieusement explorés et encore ne l'ont-ils pas été complètement. Aucun monument civil de la cité grecque ne nous est connu; ni la boulé, ni le gymnase, ni les édifices de l'agora; comme l'imposante citadelle, presque toutes les tours de l'enceinte sont encore remplies du sable que les siècles y ont accumulé; une seule d'entre elles, vidée jusqu'au sol, nous a livré de remarquables pièces d'archives. Par une chance exceptionnelle, une vieille colonie macédonienne s'est conservée sur les bords de l'Euphrate, à peine modifiée par la conquête romaine, sans qu'aucune restauration byzantine, aucune réfection musulmane l'ait jamais transformée. La civilisation gréco-sémitique y apparaît telle qu'elle y florissait au moment où ses habitants la quittèrent et un climat exceptionnellement favorable y a assuré la conservation de peintures délicates, de minces parchemins, d'objets corruptibles, qui ont disparu presque partout ailleurs. La réunion de tant de circonstances propices a de quoi tenter les archéologues en quête d'un site qui promette d'être fructueux. Placée à la frontière de deux grands États et au point de contact de deux civilisations, Doura-Europos, en nous révélant son histoire, éclairera celle de tout l'Orient gréco-romain.



Yes, it is evident that France and the Syrian government are not able to carry on the work so happily begun by an American and a Belgian, with the help of the English and the Syrians—an international enterprise indeed. It would be a pity if Cumont's work is left unfinished. The site is promising, the conditions of work favorable, the historical importance enormous, the French and the Syrian governments are ready to collaborate and welcome help forthcoming from other civilized nations. Is there no institution or private person in the United States to understand all the importance of the enterprise and to help with money those who are ready to devote their time and their energy to this task?

M. ROSTOVITZEFF.

*Getica: o Protoistorie a Daciei* (A Pre-History of Dacia). De VASILE PÂRVAN, Membru al Academiei Române. [Academia Română, Memoriile Sectziunii Istorice, seria III., tomul III., mem. 2.] (Bucharest: Cultura Națională. 1926. Pp. 850; 462 cuts, 43 plates, and 4 maps.—In Rumanian; but pages 725–804 give a résumé in French.)

THE brilliant director of the Rumanian Archaeological School in Rome here modestly presents what he calls a "premier essai"; and it is the first serious attempt to reconstruct the early history of the lower Danube region by combining, with the testimony of the historians, archaeological data (for much of which Pârvan is himself responsible). Herodotus tells us that after the Indians, the Thracians were the greatest people in the world. Their northern branch, the Getae, extended from Bohemia and the lower Vistula to the Pripet marshes and the rapids of the Dnieper. They belonged with the Phrygians and Armenians, and Pârvan gives interesting doublets, of Dacian and Bithynian proper names. Their rich and secure civilization was dimmed by Cimmerian and Scythian invasions, between 900 and 600 B. C.; then it flowered forth again, incorporating Celtic elements, and from 200 B. C. till the conquest by Trajan, Dacia stands out as a prosperous and powerful state. Trade connects the Getae constantly with the West; imitations of Corneto vases with interesting local variations, are found in Transylvania of a period before 900 B. C.; Italic kettles and helmets have been turned up in Bessarabia. The same Italic influence is to be seen in their fibulae as well as their weapons; in fact, from about 1000 B. C. on, during the late Bronze and early Iron Age, the whole area from the Italian Alps to the Moldavian Carpathians and the Scythian Danube seems to have enjoyed one civilization. Dacia had the most productive gold mines in Europe; its goldsmiths early developed a characteristic spiral pattern; the Cimmerians brought in zoöomorphic themes like those of the Caucasus, and geometric designs thrive from the beginning through all the invasions. The Scythians appear to have introduced archery, iron spear-heads, and short swords; but the use of bronze axes and sickles persisted, and not till the Celtic period did iron sickles become common. Abundant ceramic remains



also attest a toughly conservative local tradition, which weathered every invasion; and numerous torques, bracelets, and fibulae of all periods show the characteristic spirals. The Scythians brought in spiral rings and bracelets ending in snake- and dragon-heads; Pârvan has an interesting discussion of the dragon as the Dacian emblem, and the possibility of its adoption by the Romans from the Dacians. The Getae worshipped the sun, had no images, believed in the immortality of the soul, and did not build temples; their architecture was dominated by construction in wood; even stone blocks were fastened by wooden beams and staples. Commerce was brisk with the Greeks and later with the Romans; wheat, salt, horses, hides, honey, wax, wool, furs, and slaves were their chief exports; they imported wine and oil; then Greek coins appear—staters of Philip II., tetradrachms from Thasos; Roman republican denarii follow in great numbers, together with drachmas from Apollonia and Epidamnus. These stop suddenly at 44 B. C.; when Caesar was outfitting against the redoubtable Dacian king Burebista, evidently the traders decamped. Pârvan thinks the first Roman annexation north of the Danube took place as early as 4 A. D.; in 52–53, Plautius Silvanus adds the Wallachian plain, up to Craiova and Adjud; but even under Trajan and his successors, when Roman garrisons occupied Moldavia and Bessarabia, Getic life and civilization seem to have continued unruffled. Greek and Latin were widely known in Dacia by the opening of our era; and Ovid found their language suitable for poetry. Pârvan draws an interesting map of Europe in the Geto-Scythic period, with an incidental hit at Jokl for his Illyrian claims.

This brief summary of some points in Pârvan's history of the Getae who created Dacia gives no idea of the wealth of erudition and illustration displayed in the notes and the lavish plates and other reproductions. The book is well printed and exhaustively indexed, and reflects the highest credit on its author and the Rumanian Academy. Let us hope that Pârvan will continue, and lay the foundations for a treatise on the early Middle Ages in this same region.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

#### BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*The Ordeal of Civilization: a Sketch of the Development and World-Wide Diffusion of our Present-Day Institutions and Ideas.* By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1926. Pp. xii, 769. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR ROBINSON evidently believes with Tony Lumpkin, that "an honest man has got a right to rob himself of his own". Fully five-sixths of the *Ordeal of Civilization*—text, illustrations, maps, even notes—have been taken from the author's *Mediaeval and Modern Times*, which in its turn was hardly more than an *alias* for the *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, first published in 1903. Page after page has been lifted

bodily and chapter after chapter taken over without other alteration than minor verbal changes. Here and there a statement has been expanded or condensed; but not until we get well on toward the end is new matter introduced in any considerable quantity; while earlier opinions and judgments have for the most part remained untouched, and there is little to indicate that materials have been worked over or conclusions re-examined in the light of subsequent study. This is the third incarnation of the *Introduction*; but, as the French say, "*plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*".

It had been better if it had remained the same, for the "revised version" is scarcely an improvement upon the "authorized". In more than one place the symmetry of the earlier work has been sacrificed to considerations of space, and pruning carried to the point of mutilation. The most deplorable effects of tampering are seen in the chapters on the Middle Ages, the ages which "form in a peculiar and intimate sense the background of our prevailing civilization", and without some knowledge of which "no sure grasp on conditions today is possible" (p. 10). We admit their importance, and are on that very account the more loath to be hustled through them, hitting only the high spots, and not all of those. We have haunting memories of the old road, and instinctively look for the familiar landmarks. We miss Justinian's Code, and Pippin's Donation, the Partition of Verdun, Cluny, Guelf and Ghibelline. We hardly recognize St. Bernard or the great Innocent. We wonder what has become of St. Louis, formerly the "most heroic figure . . . in the whole procession of French monarchs" (*Introduction*, p. 138), and why Dante, one of "the two greatest men of the fourteenth century" (*ibid.*, p. 330) has been passed over in silence. Have they lost their importance in the last quarter-century? We are told that "time fails" and "want of space forbids", and that one must be selective and cut out trivial details. Quite true; but had the choice been ours, we think we had sooner dispensed with the size of Charlemagne's nose, the color of Barbarossa's beard, the boldness and myopia of Frederick II., Otto's marriage with an Italian widow, and Harold's banquet on the eve of Hastings.

After the Middle Ages, however, the narrative is generally fuller, but in the main still a reprint of the *Introduction*. The space allotted to the eighteenth century has been enlarged, and more adequate treatment accorded to Prussia, Austria, the dismemberment of Poland, European expansion, and the revolt of the American colonies. The chapters on the Old Régime, the French Revolution, and Napoleon are virtually identical, almost word for word, with the earlier account; but there was more reason for retaining them intact than some of the others, for they were among the best in the original work and hard to improve upon.

In the section on the period from 1815 to 1871 there has been a good deal of recasting and supplementing. A chapter has been added on the Age of Machines, and more space has been devoted to economic developments and social changes. This is precisely what we should have ex-

pected from Professor Robinson. No teacher has done more than he to draw attention to what are, after all, the universal and persistent determinants in the historic process, "the homely operations of everyday life".

From 1871 on the text of 1903 is no longer available, and the last seven or eight chapters of the book are quite new, except in so far as the supplement of 1918 (rather hastily improvised to meet the demand for a text-book "up to date") has been utilized. It would have been better had the supplement been discarded altogether, and the chapter on the war entirely rewritten. As it is, it has simply been carried through to the Armistice, and rather sparingly amended by revising a judgment or toning down a statement here and there. And the chapter on Europe since the War is, for all its useful information and sound interpretation, only a sketch, as, indeed, it could hardly help being, in view of our common uncertainty as to what is actually happening in "these eventful years".

The book concludes with a disquisition on the importance of being historically minded, and a survey of the trend of human affairs. How far have we got, and whither are we going? And this civilization of ours, will it survive, or will it go the way of the vanished civilizations of former days? Some progress there has been, but pathetically little, as compared with what might have been had we mixed our painful effort with intelligence. For the most part we have shuffled and lumbered along, in a haphazard way, misled by delusions, balked by fears, blinded by inherited prejudices. Our only hope of deliverance from these inhibitions and impediments lies in the taking on of a new mind, a new attitude toward life, characterized by a sense of freedom and power, that sense of mastery that comes with knowledge. But to know ourselves we must know how we came to be what we are. Hence, the imperative necessity of being historically minded!

THEODORE COLLIER.

*Äldre Medeltiden.* Av SVEN TUNBERG. [Sveriges Historia till våra Dagar, andra delen.] (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt and Sons. 1926. Pp. viii., 406. 15 kr.)

HILDEBRAND'S volume in *Sveriges Historia till Tjugonde Seklet* appeared in 1905 as volume II. of the second edition of the great co-operative national history of Sweden that made its initial appearance during the years 1875-1881. The defects of this work did not escape its contemporary critics, who looked to it in vain for the results of much erudite research that had thrown new light on controversial points. When the present fifteen-volume work was projected, it was wisely decided that a fresh study of the medieval field should be included. Professor Sven Tunberg, editor of the *Historisk Tidskrift*, and a prominent representative of the young and vigorous group of contemporary Swedish historians, was selected for this task. The present work is not a revision, but an entirely new and independent presentation based on his own research as

well as upon the results of recent investigations by other scholars in the field.

Professor Tunberg's book, like the series as a whole, is not designed for the use of the special student. Direct references to primary sources and sometimes long quotations from these are made in the text. Source problems are discussed as they appear in the narrative. The principal object is to deal with political history—the plan of the series—and this makes the volume a welcome contribution, as the cultural side of the Middle Ages in Sweden is splendidly presented in Hildebrand's *Sveriges Medeltid* (3 vols., Stockholm, 1879-1903.)

There are five main divisions of this book, namely: (1) a short introduction on the Early Middle Ages in Sweden (1060-1389), frontiers and divisions of land within Sweden, the people and their local and central authorities at the end of the Viking period; (2) a chronological discussion of the political history subdivided according to kings (this is the main part, covering pp. 22-328); (3) the constitutional development, election of kings, development of the king's council, feudal states, revenues; (4) the economic and social conditions; and (5) the Church, literature, and art.

To place four centuries of a country's active development in one small volume and touch all important matters is quite impossible. The historian must select. Not only does the author satisfactorily fulfill this task of selection but he makes numerous contributions hitherto not brought together in one narrative of this period in Sweden. The growth of the power of the nobility, the life of that class as shown by folklore, the provincial laws and their influences, the common religious life as a background for church leaders like Saint Bridget, the beginning of organized monasticism, especially the Order of the Saviour or Brigittines, and the evolution of constitutional government, these are a few of the contributions regarding national life. The weakest point in previous general histories of this period has been the neglect to show the distinctively Swedish side of matters of European significance. To do so requires a thorough knowledge of Continental as well as local history. Tunberg does not fail in this respect. He treats the universality of the Church in the West and its peculiarities in Sweden, resulting in the establishment of a Swedish Church with church law and church courts influencing local and even national affairs. He notes feudalism as a Western European system but points out that after being transplanted to Swedish soil it developed into a Swedish feudal system with numerous peculiarities of its own (pp. 339-340 *et passim*). In dealing with inter-European affairs in which Sweden played a part, he notes the Continental issue as well as the purely Swedish side: *e.g.*, Danish appeal for papal sanction to occupy south-western Sweden and vice versa (pp. 232-240), Swedish enlistment of papal support for expansion into Russia under the guise of crusades (p. 232), Hanseatic support of Sweden against Denmark in Skåne or vice versa (pp. 252 ff., 277 ff.). Purely Continental influences upon de-

velopments in Sweden are also explained. Science, art, and education flourished in Sweden under church patronage and following western Continental church patterns. These are only a few of the author's contributions. Limitations of space did not permit him to elaborate his theses enough to satisfy the specialist.

One may deplore the omission of a bibliography, foot-notes, and an index, but this defect must be laid to the plan of the whole series. The volume is well and amply illustrated. A short list of principal sources and a brief discussion of these would have taken very little space. A map of Sweden and the Baltic Sea would have aided the reader in following events portrayed in the narrative. The reader will find copious quotations from *Rimkrönikan*, *Landskapslagarna*, *Landslagens Konungabalk* (pp. 344 ff.), etc., and will appreciate the philologic and diplomatic technic exhibited by the author.

This sound and scholarly book gives the reader a clear comprehension of the past which lies behind the modern political conditions in Sweden, and partly explains them. Impartiality, sympathy, understanding of political affairs and of their economic, religious, social, and cultural background, and a marked literary skill, make this presentation a concise and an authoritative account of a difficult period.

DAVID K. BJORK.

*The Legacy of the Middle Ages.* Edited by C. G. CRUMP and E. F. JACOB. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1926. Pp. xii, 549. 10 s.)

OF some of the more serious books that have been written of late years whose content is the study of various phases of medieval thought and social life in contradistinction to purely political history, one general criticism may perhaps be made. Quite delightful writers who succeed in creating medieval "atmosphere" are assailed sometimes with a peculiar uncleanness when they seek to expound medieval symbolism in art and literature and certain phases of political and religious life, and leave the reader, therefore, interested but puzzled, a little astray in what Maitland calls, in another connection, the "medieval muddle". The *Legacy of the Middle Ages* is free of this reproach; it is a collection of essays written by distinguished scholars of several nationalities, who have both the erudition that makes their statements authoritative, complete within their limits, and clear, and also the spiritual insight that enables them to treat their subjects with imagination and sympathy. The very beautiful illustrations add greatly to the reader's appreciation of the book.

Mr. Crump, in his introduction, from the somewhat unexpected and very concrete starting point that to understand the Middle Ages we must begin "with the source of the food on which men lived" has developed a suggestive agricultural explanation of much of the rigidity of medieval social life, and in more intellectual matters stresses the essential continuity of many streams of medieval thinking and social ideas into our own day, and the slender foundations on which much of our modern civilization, as

distinguished from that of the past, is based. So frequently is the note of continuity struck in this volume that one wonders at last whether "Legacy", with its suggestion of finality as well as of contribution to the future, is not almost a misnomer for a book dealing with a civilization so integral a part of our own.

The standard of the essays themselves is set high by the unusual quality of Mr. Powicke's study of the Christian life. Its spirit is singularly sympathetic with the beauty of much in medieval religious life and with the "treasure" which organized Christianity came into the world to preserve. Like Proust, Mr. Powicke feels the "pavage spirituel" of medieval religion, even in its more "pagan" aspects of mere acquiescence in custom and emotional enjoyment of beautiful ceremonies and forms. "There is no clear border line in the region of religious experience between the swamps and jungle of paganism and the sunlit uplands of pure faith. St. Francis was not without a speck, and there was doubtless a glimmering of piety in the relic mongers who traded in pigs' bones." The problem of authority, of "the conflict between obedience to Christ and submission to his Church" is to Mr. Powicke the legacy of medieval Christianity.

Among the writers in allied fields of medieval thought, to which the emphasis of the volume goes perhaps a little disproportionately, Mr. Harris with unusual clarity discusses the main content of medieval philosophy, finding its ultimate achievement rather in the "mysticism of the devout life" than in the establishment of any philosophical system. His treatment of John Scotus Erigena is full of freshness and interest; the able discussion of the Angelic Doctor perhaps sometimes tends to become a "Correctory of Brother Thomas". Mr. Jacob dwells on the confusing contrasts and conflicts of medieval political thought, the *communio sanctorum* and the organized Church, the theory of the unitary state and the state as unity in plurality, divine right and the right of resistance. Vinogradoff's weighty article on customary law, with its stress on the importance of stability of rights and duties, and its characteristic sweeping of the individual custom into the great stream of legal and social development made possible by his unrivalled knowledge of comparative jurisprudence, will renew in some of us the sense of irreparable loss in the passing of a great and beloved master.

The essays on the more concrete expressions of medieval thought, on architecture, sculpture, and literature, give one great pleasure in the reading. Perhaps the carping critic would find too much detail in some, too little in the essays on medieval literature, but he would have his compensation in the charm of some of the writers, and his quarrel would probably lie, not so much with what he has received as with the omission from the volume of much that seems appropriate—of the codes of social life, for example, of which outside Miss Power's interesting essays on medieval women little is said, of chivalry, of the influence of the Crusades, of painting, music, and science. Such criticism is probably inevitable with



regard to a compilation of this kind where of necessity a choice must be made amongst the many aspects of a great civilization.

N. NEILSON.

*The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art.* By J. M. CLARK, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in the University of Glasgow. (Cambridge: University Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 322. 18 s.)

FOR a university honor student or graduate student or a college professor in general history keeping his teaching alive or for any serious student not daunted by the method of learning reasonably applied, there is no better way of getting an intensive idea of the intellectual life of the Middle Ages than to read with some care a book of this kind covering some typical locality at the time of its fullest development and treated in all its aspects in fairly exhaustive detail. The author of this book has provided for such students a model text-book on the basis of St. Gall at the end of the ninth century.

The subtitle "as a centre of literature and art" is an accurate description. Chapters on art, music, literature, drama, are flanked on either side by chapters on the school and library. These are preceded by studies on the Anglo-Saxon and Irish influence on the development of the abbey and on the precious ninth-century architectural ground-plan of the abbey. They are followed by a couple of useful appendixes.

The author concludes that while Irish influence was kept up more or less throughout the Middle Ages by Irish pilgrims and the Bavarian Irish monasteries, it did not predominate after 760. From that time St. Gall was a Swabian, not an Irish monastery. This study is perhaps the chief positive contribution of the work, but numerous minor theses scattered through the book make an impressive total of illuminating original additions to knowledge.

The general impression given is vivid. This is not the result of its verbal composition, which is sound, clear, and descriptive, but matter-of-fact. The vividness is a cumulative result from the well-selected and well-expressed exhaustive detail.

The author counts the contribution of the abbey and therefore of his book to literature and language as first in importance, but each major topic has some distinctive contribution. In one sense the contribution to library history is the most distinctive of all, for practically all the topics, even architecture, are based chiefly on material from the library, the rich material of vernacular literature, the classical texts, the miniature paintings, the manuscript architectural plan, the liturgical books. The rôle of libraries in culture history is not often recognized in the text-books and this gives double value to the material here contributed. The finding at St. Gall, by Poggio, of manuscripts of Quintilian, Vitruvius, Lactantius, and a cart-load of others is familiar, but many new contributions to the material for the history of technical library management are made. These cover a considerable range of topics: acquisition, preservation from fire,



moisture, theft, war, neglect, also cataloguing and lending—even the most modern aspect of library service, the international lending of books to scholars. All the Western nations interchanged with St. Gall for copying or study purposes, and not all of Poggio's cart-load of manuscripts were brought back to St. Gall, nor were all the forced military loans to Reichenau, Zurich, and Bern returned.

The typographical make-up of the book is one to tempt the reading of even a much less readable work. Like all good books it also has excellent bibliographies and index. Obvious defects are few, but the book begins and ends with rather common and aggravating faults. The title-page gives only initials for the forenames of the author and sets a serious time-cost problem for all cataloguers, since there are at least four other modern writers named J. M. Clark. The index too, while it tithes the mint and cummin excellently, has no entries under the words art, drama, literature, or music—all of which have full chapters devoted to them in the text.

ERNEST CUSHING RICHARDSON.

*Historical Notes on the Use of the Great Seal of England.* By Sir H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1926. Pp. ix, 460. 18 s.)

THIS book is evidently the work of the many years during which its author was deputy keeper of the Public Records. It contains a great number of extracts, mostly from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century but occasionally coming down to our own times, illustrative of the use of the great seal, selected from the vast collection of unprinted documents now concentrated in the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane. The author says it is not intended to be a constitutional treatise such as is found in Professor Tout's valuable *Chapters in the Administrative History of England*, but we can scarcely agree with his own modest estimate. In fact this is very far from being a book of mere antiquarian interest as have been most of those hitherto written about the official seals of England. Its method seems to be a compromise between a treatment strictly diplomatic such as the section on sphragistics in Giry's *Manuel de Diplomatie* and a constitutional treatise. Though not primarily constitutional it contains a very large amount of first-hand information that must prove indispensable to any student of English constitutional development, especially to one whose studies take him to the original documents themselves.

In the ten chapters of the book two main subjects are illustrated: first, the various modes in which the affixing of the great seal has been authorized, as by royal precept under the privy seal or other smaller royal seals, by immediate royal warrants, and by regents' warrants (when a regency existed) or those of the Council or of ministers of state; and secondly, the customary practice of the Chancery in drafting, dating, engrossing, sealing, and enrolling the documents thus authorized, together with an account of the fees charged for these various processes.

For all these subjects the author gives a wealth of original extracts drawn from the close rolls, the patent, the charter, and other rolls in support of his statements which in sum can scarcely be short of a thousand in number. Incidentally, there is valuable information as to the organization and the working of the Chancery in all its aspects and in every period of its growth, and occasionally a bit of interesting history, as for 1322 when the king warns the sheriffs to pay no attention to documents addressed to them under the privy seal which "has by chance been lost"—no doubt at the battle of Boroughbridge. It was found four days later.

One of the most interesting—or most disquieting—facts shown by the author is that the dates given in writs of privy seal and others too are often not the dates of their actual issuance at all. Thus Foss in his *Judges of England* came to the rather startling conclusion that there must have been two chancellors at once in the year 1475, because between April and September of that year writs are found, some addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln, others to the Bishop of Rochester, and to each as chancellor, but the explanation appears in the fact that some of these writs were not delivered in chancery for weeks or months after the dates they bear. It becomes evident also from many extracts here given that the dates on documents engrossed are frequently not the dates of the actual sealing or engrossing but usually those of the original warrants giving the authorization, and that for various reasons a period of weeks or months might elapse between. One instance is given from the year 1310 of a writ of privy seal for a pardon under which nothing was done for more than nine years, after which the king directed the chancellor to issue a new pardon, but under the original date. Discrepancies like these between the actual and the stated date of royal documents would in all probability upset a good many statements to be found in modern books, and they do in fact play havoc with some of the royal itineraries constructed on the evidence of these dates.

These are only a few of the many points in the history of England in the Middle Ages on which this book throws valuable light, and there is in fact scarcely any important department of the central government on whose staffing and procedure our knowledge is not made clearer and more definite by these well-chosen extracts. The book will be disquieting to some but most welcome to all who are concerned for accuracy and precision in the writing of history. One is tempted to use in reference to it the over-worked word invaluable.

C. H. McILWAIN.

*Recherches sur l'Esprit Politique de la Réforme.* Par GEORGES DE LAGARDE. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1926. Pp. 485.)

WHEN M. Lagarde, in his introduction, protests that his work is neither original nor impartial, he does himself a slight injustice. Though there is in the book little that is altogether new, the recombination of old data is suggestive and powerful. And while the author's bias against the

Reformers is perfectly obvious throughout, he is scrupulously fair in expounding their ideas.

With that brilliant logic native to a Frenchman, he develops and drives home his main thesis, that the Reformation, by destroying the scholastic ideas of natural right and the scholastic distinction between spiritual and temporal, beat down the barriers of freedom and justice, and enthroned the state as an absolute and unlimited tyrant. The political spirit of the Reformation was nothing less than a mighty revolt of the laity; the only liberty it established was the freedom of the state from the church.

The Middle Ages, the author begins by urging, emphasized more than did any other period the theory of right, from which the schoolmen deduced, and within which they bounded, their whole system of politics. Government was for them only divine in so far as it embodied the principles of justice. For St. Thomas the public good was the first and the last word in the theory of the state, and that good was secured and sanctioned by the laws of nature. But, as the growing national states chafed and fretted under these restrictions, they soon found in Marsiglio and in the Nominalists, and then in the Reformers, men who would frame a theory to justify their revolt. As it was the yoke of the Church which had galled the withers of the secular power, the Church was the main object of attack by the new emancipators.

Though the Reformers, according to M. Lagarde, admitted the idea of natural law, they reduced it to a practically useless category by making it inconsistent with their fundamental conviction of the total depravity of human nature. A being so desperately wicked as unregenerate man could claim no rights whatever before the tribunal of God. And man born anew was held to be superior to law, in that he had the higher law written in his heart. Thus law was degraded to the function of the police—necessary to restrain malefactors but superfluous in a society of saints. How frail were the arguments of the Reformers is shown, in the author's opinion, by the alleged fact that modern political theorists, beginning with Grotius, have returned to the medieval idea.

The next step taken by the Protestants was the assertion of the divine right of the state by Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. M. Lagarde admits, but regards as unimportant, the fact that all these Reformers, though at times urging the duty of passive obedience, at other times framed a theory of the right of constitutional resistance to the government. The French monarchomachs, as the chief obstacle in the path of his argument, are disposed of by saying that there is nothing specifically Protestant in their theories of revolution.

More convincing is the chapter on the abolition of the distinction of spiritual and temporal power. Even the student long familiar with this phase of sixteenth-century thought will be startled by the precision and force of the author's proof-texts. In Zwingli and Luther one seems at times to be reading Hobbes.

Perhaps the most original and engaging chapter of the work is that on individualism. The Reformers, beginning by asserting the rights of the individual conscience in order to dynamite the existing church, ended by fixing on their followers a theocratic tyranny unparalleled in earlier times. The author's explanation of how this came about is most interesting, but does not fully allow for the distinction properly made between individualism and subjectivism. At his most liberal Luther never went further than asserting that each individual is responsible for his own interpretation of divine truth—for by that interpretation he must live and die. Neither he, nor any one in that age, would allow that religious and philosophical truth itself is relative; that it depends not on an objective standard but on a subjective idiosyncrasy.

Though the author has read carefully and fairly widely, his bibliography reveals important lacunae. He does not know the pertinent works of Dunning, Elkan, Gläser, Macmillan, or Meineke. He knows Zwingli's works only in the new edition, and he knows only two volumes of that, though six have been published. This is the most costly of his omissions, though there are some similar gaps in his acquaintance with the works of the other reformers. A singular slip occurs (p. 128), when he speaks of "Carthright" of Scotland. The name he had in mind is doubtless that of the English Puritan Cartwright; but the reference would better fit the Scottish Buchanan.

PRESERVED SMITH.

*Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters.* Von LUDWIG Freiherrn von PASTOR. Band X. *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Catholischen Reformation und Restauration, 1585-1591.* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder. 1926. Pp. xxxi, 666. 20 M.)

THIS volume, though it deals with but a half-dozen years, covers four pontificates—those of Sixtus V., Urban VII., Gregory XIV., and Innocent IX. The last three of these, however, filled scarcely more than a single year, and their significance was as slight as was their length. Much less than a sixth of Pastor's pages suffices for them. The first five hundred he devotes to the great reign of Sixtus V.

So fascinating, he tells us, was the personality of Sixtus to his contemporaries that they ascribed to him much that really was the work of his predecessor; but even Pastor, though he endeavors to correct this error, thinks Pope Sixtus deserves to have been known by posterity as Sixtus the Great. For Pastor, too, counts him, despite the fewness of his papal years, "one of the most important of the wearers of the triple crown"—"an extraordinary individuality, stamped with unity and definiteness, all whose undertakings and whose wide-reaching plans showed genius and greatness". "His outward appearance bespoke the man of will and of deed, but at the same time betrayed his peasant origin. Of middle size, he was strongly built and anything but handsome. The powerful

head, bent slightly forward, was surrounded by a thick, dark brown, somewhat grizzled beard. His cheek bones were prominent, his nose large and thick. Numerous wrinkles furrowed his high forehead. Brows arched and strikingly heavy shadowed the small and fiery eyes." "In much", adds the historian, "he reminds one of Julius II. Like him he was domineering and relentless in the carrying out of his aims, a powerful figure to whom his contemporaries might well apply the epithet 'Terribile'—the *gewaltig, grossartig*."

The old story that the future pope came to the conclave decrepit of bearing and leaning on a crutch, but was no sooner elected than his crutch was thrown away and his bearing became majestic, is of course rejected by Pastor as apocryphal. Nothing, he says, can be more unhistorical; the new pope was no dissembler. But what he tells us of the surprise the vigor of Sixtus, who for years had lived in seclusion and enforced inaction, brought to many of those who chose him leaves on us much the same impression as the fable. That his conception of Sixtus differs seriously from that of earlier biographers Pastor makes no claim, and in the useful survey of these writers which forms a part of his appendix he pays warm tribute to their work. Ranke's "bird's-eye view" gives us, he says, "in brilliant portrayal a most interesting sketch of the personality of the pope and of his political, administrative, and architectural activities"; but "this disconnected and epigrammatic sketch" is, he thinks, by no means adequate. It neglects the diplomatic and ecclesiastical achievements of Sixtus, especially his dealings with France and with Spain; but these lacks are largely made good by the later biography of Hübner. Of Balzani's chapter in the *Cambridge Modern History* he speaks, too, in high terms, as also of the book of L'Épinois, *La Ligue et les Papes*, and of Herre's "great work" on the papal elections in the days of Philip the Second.

But, whatever his debt to earlier workers, his own researches have everywhere verified and enriched their results. His materials have been such as no earlier student could command; and precious bits of these he has printed, as hitherto, at the end of his volume. Thus he shares with us a mass of the gossipy *Avvisi* sent out in manuscript from Rome and now hidden in various libraries and archives. Thus, too, he gives us the substance of two still unprinted contemporary biographies of Pope Sixtus—known to Ranke in the Altieri library, but since lost, and now again unearthed, though in inferior transcripts, in the secret archives of the Vatican.

With the publication of the present volume the author is able to share with his readers his plans for the remainder of his work. It will end with the year 1800, and to bring it to that point will require six more volumes. The next, covering the time of Clement VIII. (1592–1604), will carry us into the seventeenth century. Then, with ever quickening pace, the succeeding volumes will deal with the periods 1604–1621, 1621–1655, 1655–1700, 1700–1740, 1740–1800. It would seem, then, that it is the sixteenth century which Pastor has counted most worthy of detailed study, and that

what lies before us is only a long home-stretch. May life and health be his for the completion of his great task!

GEORGE L. BURR.

*Histoire de Belgique.* Par HENRI PIRENNE, Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Volume VI. (Brussels: Lamertin. 1926. Pp. viii, 477.)

THIS is the sixth volume in a series that is to cover the history of Belgium from its earliest beginnings. The author, Professor Pirenne, is entirely too modest. In the preface to his book he apologizes for what he calls "une ébauche sommaire et provisoire". In reality, he has produced a lucid, scholarly, and entertaining narrative worthy of the same high commendation that his earlier works have received.

At the very outset the author assumes an attitude to the early revolutionary period that is too often neglected to-day. He reminds his readers that the Revolution was not purely French in origin, but that it was, in great part, cosmopolitan and universal, the result of the policies of the enlightened despots. With this larger aspect in mind, Professor Pirenne turns to the consideration of Belgium. As far as that country is concerned, the author treats of the Revolution as the continuance of the policy of the Ancien Régime. Ever since the battle of Bouvines, France had sought to hold Belgium for the sake of its frontiers or for the hegemony in Europe. This practice was continued at Jemappes. Leaving aside the narration of military campaigns and diplomatic events, the author confines his attention to a splendid analysis of the revolutionary movement as a schooling of the Belgians in the arts of governing according to the New Régime and in the forging of an already nascent national consciousness in spite of the local antagonisms of the country. In the earlier period Dumouriez is the great hero of a moderate liberalism and the protector of the people of Belgium against an increasingly ambitious and radical party at Paris. Neerwinden and the entrance of the Austrians into the provinces rid the Belgians of the latter danger. With the victory of the French in October, 1795, however, the amalgamation of Belgium and Liège to France was temporarily accomplished. Then it was that the French administrative system was established in these provinces and the country was compressed and unified as it never had been before. Belgium began her political and electoral apprenticeship, but religious, social, and industrial life remained in abeyance. Matters were brought almost to a climax by the Conscription Law of September, 1798, that aroused a peasant revolt and that spread discontent over Belgium. The *coup d'état* of Brumaire in 1799, however, brought, for the time being, better conditions, and a period of stabilization ensued. Under the Consulate and the Empire the Belgians received a real education in the new principles. Terrible sacrifices were paid, but with one exception the country enjoyed internal peace until 1814. The system of departments and an ordered and uniform government benefited the country, industry began again to flour-



ish, and prosperity to appear. The Empire concluded the political education of the country.

In 1814, with the disappearance of Napoleon, the test came. The kingdom of the Netherlands was formed as a barrier of Europe against France. Of this kingdom, the Belgians, because of the unity that they had experienced and the principles that they had learned, were an unhappy part. Led by their bourgeoisie and a liberally inclined clergy, that included even the princes of the Church, the desire of the people for independence and liberty was fostered under the very nose of King William. This movement profited even by certain advantages that he gave them. A wise economic policy permitted an increase of prosperity and population that fed the strength of the separatists. The movement for revolt became religious and intellectual as well as political. Its leaders sought to show the liberally inclined nations that the question of Belgian unity was a necessary corollary to the survival of their own liberal ideas. It was this belief that finally led England and Louis Philippe to labor for the preservation of the revolutionary movement in Belgium during the years 1830-1831. The three concluding chapters treat of the laying of the foundations of the kingdom of Belgium and its recognition by the European powers.

Space will not permit of a more detailed analysis of Professor Pirenne's work. Throughout the book there is evident all the exacting and careful scholarly criticism for which the author is noted. To the mind of the reviewer the most significant part is the larger section relating to the period of the Revolution and the Empire. This work is one that will be of very real value and interest to all students of revolutionary and nineteenth-century Europe.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

*The Struggle for the Rhine.* By HERMANN STEGEMANN. Translated by Georges Chatterton-Hill. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1927. Pp. 432. 12 M.)

SOMETHING should be done to get the historians out of the trenches. They are invariably at the outposts, sniping each other in peace across national frontiers and lighting the fires of the next war under cover of objectivity. They take full possession of the trenches after war closes and the soldiers disarm. But not they. They are just going into action.

Dr. Stegemann does even better than this in his *Struggle for the Rhine*. He fights not only the last war, but all previous Central European wars and at the same time prepares his German and his French readers for the next. The grand total in 430 pages is the shedding of enough blood to redden the Rhine and its tributaries from Basel to the North Sea. The prospect he opens up for the future is such an unending struggle that European civilization might as well curse the Rhine and die.

Dr. Stegemann having written a four-volume *History of the War* (1914-1918) now feels logically compelled to draw the lessons from this



and from centuries of struggle and to reveal to future generations that the struggle has not yet been definitely decided. The book is dedicated to the German people who will thus be prepared, one may suppose, to treat Locarno as a scrap of paper.

The publisher's jacket gives one thesis and the text of another. The author says:

Possession of the Rhine enables, and has invariably enabled, a conqueror from the South or West to control the entire Central European zone and therefore to dominate Europe: whereas the inhabitants of the right bank need the Rhine to maintain their independence. Hence for the French in the West, the struggle for the Rhine is motivated by political ambition; for the Germans in the East, it is a problem of national survival.

The struggle for the Rhine is initiated by the Romans in 218 B. C. when they start out to meet Hannibal on the Rhone, not knowing there was any Rhine. Then the book proceeds with the wars of Cimbri, Romans, Carolingians, Hohenstauffens, Burgundians, and Bourbons. The Rhine maintains its dominance in European history through a chapter on the British-French colonial rivalry and the reign of the Prussian Frederick. The river comes fully into its baleful heritage in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era and the nineteenth century. In 1870 destiny assigned to Bismarck's genius "the task of fulfilling the historic mission set to Germany on the Rhine since innumerable centuries". The last chapter sketches Europe from 1870 to Versailles. German errors are underscored because they lost the Rhine, and French blunders since then point the lesson the author would teach. It concludes that Germans have too often lost sight of the fundamental fact that attachment to the Rhine is for Germany more than historic destiny or national existence, for in it "lies the source of her moral and spiritual strength". "As long as the struggle for the Rhine still remains undecided, Germany's future lies open before her. Thus after two thousand years the world stands again today on the threshold of a great Unknown."

If Bernhardt had not pre-empted the title, this book might well be called "Germany and the Next War".

G. S. F.

*La Réunion de Metz à la France, 1552-1648.* Par GASTON ZELLER, Docteur ès Lettres, Professeur agrégé d'Histoire au Lycée Fustel de Coulanges (Strasbourg). 1<sup>re</sup> partie. *L'Occupation.* (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres". 1926. Pp. 502. 40 fr.)

It was in July, 1914, says Dr. Zeller, that the project of this work was conceived. It would almost seem to have been a prophetic instinct that prompted the choice of such a subject, on the very eve of a war to which the author himself was summoned, as if to vindicate the title of his thesis and help to make the "Reunion of Metz to France" a living reality and not a mere historical reminiscence.

An absolutely objective treatment of such a subject under such circumstances it were almost unreasonable to expect. Dr. Zeller is a *Messin* and makes no pretension to a Platonic superiority to the emotions which the very name stirs in French breasts. He does, however, protest his scientific impartiality, and challenges proof of any intrusion of his sympathies into his judgment. His spirit is that of the scholar, not the partizan; and his purpose, an exhaustive inquiry into an episode that has hitherto been accorded only casual treatment. His study bears the mark of finality; he has fully exploited the archives, and ferreted out every last bit of evidence. His statements may be checked at every turn by reference to innumerable foot-notes, or to the *pièces justificatives* appended to the work.

But over and above the determination of the facts is the evaluation of the event itself. And it is at this point that the originality and independence of Dr. Zeller's thesis is most apparent. The traditional interpretation he can not accept. The acquisition of the "Three Bishoprics" in 1552 was, it is true, a step toward the Rhine, and was so recognized by at least some contemporaries. And it is also a fact that two or three generations later the attainment of the Rhine as a "natural limit" had become a definite object of French policy. *Post hoc, propter hoc*; the expedition of 1552 was an integral part of the *politique du Rhin*, deliberately calculated to promote it, and itself inspired by it. Hence, the policy must have antedated the act; from which it is an easy flight to "time immemorial".

But the reasoning, says Dr. Zeller, is fallacious and the conclusion controverted by the facts. There is no evidence of a conscious Rhine policy prior to 1552. An occasional vague reference is not sufficient to warrant a sweeping generalization. As a matter of fact, from the days of Philip the Fair to those of Henry II. the eastern frontier remained substantially unchanged, and the relations of Kingdom and Empire were uniformly friendly until the Hapsburgs inherited the Burgundian quarrel and France found itself confronted by the ominous power of Charles V. Even the incursion of 1444 into Alsace and Lorraine was aimed at the Burgundian rather than at the Empire, and the claims put forth by Charles VII. on this occasion, to territories "on this side of the Rhine", a sort of flourish, rather than a declaration of fixed policy. If the "Rhine idea" found even momentary lodgment in the royal mind, it was soon overlaid; and for the next hundred years the main axis of French policy inclined toward Italy.

And when finally a king of France did lead an army toward the Rhine it was not with the deliberate intention of establishing a new frontier, but in order to co-operate with his German allies against their common enemy the Emperor, and to restore the balance of power upset by Mühlberg. As for the occupation of the Three Bishoprics, it was a military measure, instigated by the princes themselves, with apparently no thought of permanently alienating imperial territory. They were to be held by the king as "Imperial Vicar", a title for which there was sufficient precedent and

which in itself implied an affirmation of the integrity of the Empire. Indeed, the princes affected to be defending the rights of the Empire against the Emperor himself, and it was as "Vindex Libertatis Germaniae" that they acclaimed their royal ally.

But, whatever the character of the princes' act, and however remiss they may have been in their duty to the German cause, the detachment of the Three Bishoprics from the Empire was in accord with the logic of events. The proof is found in the ease with which it was accomplished. The bonds that held them to the Empire had become purely formal; their cultural ties were all with France; they belonged to the "Pays Welches"; whatever Germanism they had ever had was well-nigh extinct; more than once Metz protested that it was a *cité gallique*. As for the Empire, it had long been undergoing a double transformation—shrinking in size, and in the process becoming less and less heterogenous, more and more exclusively German. And to the extent that it became German, it weakened its hold upon the non-German. It began to crumble at the edges. Small wonder that the borderlands yielded to the centrifugal impulse, and that in the fullness of time the Three Bishoprics should fall into the hands of the king of France, almost without effort on his part or struggle on theirs.

Such is Dr. Zeller's interpretation of the occupation of Metz. There can be nothing but admiration for the pains with which he has collected and correlated his evidence and the skill with which he has developed his thesis. But he himself would be the last to expect unanimous acceptance of all his conclusions. The "significance" of an event is, after all, somewhat a matter of individual judgment. And beyond the Rhine, at least, there are likely to be few who will condone, even in the light of the "logic of events", a pact which their compatriot Janssen branded as "a monument of German shame", or a surrender which Lamprecht denounced as "an act of treason". And even on this side of the Rhine there may be some who will ponder the word of Michelet and wonder if, after all, it was worth while: "We kept Metz, Toul, and Verdun, an admirable bit of the Empire. But what was of more value, the good opinion of the Empire and the friendship of Germany, that we did not keep; that we lost forever." And yet, happily, not *forever*; since Michelet wrote we have had Locarno.

THEODORE COLLIER.

*La Vie Chère et le Mouvement Social sous la Terreur.* Par ALBERT MATHIEZ, Chargé du Cours d'Histoire de la Révolution Française à l'Université de Paris. (Paris: Payot. 1927. Pp. 620. 32 fr.)

THIS is a work of primary importance for the student of the economic and social history of the French Revolution. Most of its chapters have already appeared in the *Annales Révolutionnaires* and its successor, the *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, of which Professor Mathiez has been the editor. As the second part of the title suggests, economic conditions are not the sole theme. This embraces also the

political and social tendencies which were in part cause, in part effect of the crisis. The narrative opens with a brief introduction describing the practices of regulation which were applied to the problem of food supply during the old régime, and which gradually broke down under the attacks of the Economists. It closes with the overthrow of Robespierre, leaving for later treatment the experiences of the Thermidorian period and the results of the repeal of the maximum legislation in December, 1794. The treatment in point of view is hostile to the bourgeois régime. The history of the actual application of the maximum laws, especially after their revision in the spring of 1794, is given in a rather fragmentary manner, doubtless for the compelling reason that here the preliminary labor of collecting and publishing documents, fostered by the Commission on the Economic History of the Revolution, has not been pushed far. Professor Mathiez remarks that in regard to several problems he must attempt little more than general indications, suggesting lines of research for others. One problem upon which the reader will feel most need of light is the practical operation of the system of requisitions. The author mentions scattered examples of local resistance, but says there was less rioting than under the régime of freedom of trade in 1792, inertia and latent hostility being the main obstacles to enforcement.

Especially instructive are the parts of the work which touch the relation of the different political factions to the problem. The individual and the faction which receive most attention are Jacques Roux and the "Enragés". Jacques Roux is sketched sympathetically, although his personal faults and his exaggerations as an agitator are not disguised. The attitude of the Girondins and that of the Mountain toward price regulation differ little, Professor Mathiez finds, except that the Girondins were moved by class prejudice and selfishness. To win in their struggle against the Girondins the Mountain party was obliged to waive its theoretical objections to price-fixing and to make terms with the followers of the "Enragés". Again, after Hébert in September, 1793, had become the actual leader of the "Enragés", the Mountain reluctantly introduced the most important maximum laws. Professor Mathiez brings out clearly the close relation between the excitement in Paris over the high cost of living and the inauguration of the Terror. September 4 and 5 were indeed a new May 31. But the Mountain never heartily accepted the principle of price regulation. At most, after the Committee of Public Safety had destroyed the "Ultra" and the "Citra" factions, the government honestly endeavored to enforce the law in its new form. The author recognizes the fact that "la grande coupable" in the whole series of miseries was the inflation of the assignats, which the general war had aggravated. No amount of regulation could cure evils as long as their fundamental cause remained. The strange fact is that the best minds in the Convention never seemed to begin to understand that economic freedom was impossible in the midst of such a world struggle. Professor Mathiez makes the point at the outset that while the intellectuals had become convinced before the

Revolution of the soundness of the principle of freedom in meeting the problem of supply the popular classes were far from accepting the idea, and that as soon as difficulties arose they instinctively recurred to methods of control which had so long been adopted by the rulers of the older France. The American student of the subject must also be struck by a further fact, namely, that although France was mainly rural, and the farmers made up the largest single group, no other class was so vilified by the politicians. The "farmer vote" did not frighten the leaders of the urban proletariat.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

*Napoleon.* By ÉMIL LUDWIG. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. (New York: Boni and Liveright. 1926. Pp. xii, 707. \$3.00.)

THE most brilliant exposition of the Napoleonic legend should rightfully be noteworthy and popular. Such an attempt to enliven history is praiseworthy, and two factors have contributed to its success. The first is the author's style, perhaps the foremost example of the way the historical present should and should not be used—for it is the medium of the entire work. The second is the copious use of the words of Napoleon himself (often frankly imaginary) and of his contemporaries. The result is to give an exceedingly vivid portrayal of his reactions to his surroundings and in particular of his relations to Josephine and his family. Herein lies perhaps the chief value of the book. The writer has indeed achieved to a marked degree that intangible quality "atmosphere".

That the work contains nothing new is not necessarily a condemnation. In the field of biography, the artist is free to establish his own canons, and Ludwig (Cohn) confines himself to the "inner history of Napoleon". Yet it may well be asked, for instance, why no serious consideration of his rôle as organizer and administrator is included. Is it legitimate to divorce the man so completely from his work? No adequate conception is given of the titanic struggle with England. Seventy-one pages are devoted to the St. Helena episode which Fournier treats in twenty-two. Obviously such a purely psychological study can not take the place of a more well-rounded account.

The task of the critic is rendered exceedingly difficult by the entire absence of critical apparatus. Nevertheless errors of fact and interpretation, contradictions, and disregard of chronology are apparent throughout. Many of the dates given are incorrect. A few typical slips may be cited. The translation of the first campaign manifesto is unwarrantably free. Joseph was *not* a deputy in 1799. Half statements often give an entirely wrong impression (this is the cardinal error throughout). One would think that Bernadotte and Napoleon had never met before the return from Egypt. The treatment accorded Moreau and his troops after the campaign of 1800 is entirely omitted, and Napoleon's gratitude is stressed! The statement that "all the reports from the provinces have been full of complaints regarding the lack of public safety" perpetuates the old legend

about the Directory. The figures of the plebiscite on the Consulate for Ten Years are given without comment. To say that Napoleon never falsified his papers and despatches is nothing short of ludicrous. (The assertion is contradicted by the author himself on page 642.) As for the account of the geography of St. Helena and of the exile, the most charitable assumption is that the writer put his faith in very defective sources. In general, the constant misplacing of statements made at Saint Helena and the (admitted) fabrication of soliloquies out of whole cloth are the most objectionable features.

When it comes to matters of opinion, there is of course room for considerable latitude; but no account is taken of controversial matters. Bernadotte is pictured in the usual fashion. No mention is made of the fact that he was a man of note before Bonaparte was heard of. To accuse him of ambition and ingratitude in a discussion of the Corsican is amusing. It may be added that Napoleon had nothing to do with the Swedish election—in fact he opposed it. The defense of the murder of the Duke of Enghien goes further than even the average apologist. The following is attributed to Napoleon—"The Continent must be unified, must consist of middle-sized and small powers overshadowed by the eagles of France, and democratically ranged side by side." What does this mean? Certainly no desire for a "United States of Europe" or "league of nations" was seriously entertained by the conqueror in the pre-St. Helena days. We may be permitted to differ in our views on his conduct upon his first entry into Berlin. To say that in the spring of 1811 "Russia seemed still friendly" is certainly a misreading of the evidence.

When it comes to the larger phases of interpretation, no agreement can ever be reached. The author's thesis is to be found in the words of his opening quotation, "Napoleon went forth to seek Virtue, but, since she was not to be found, he got Power". Though his analysis of his hero's motives (page 9, etc.) does not seem to uphold this view, it will doubtless satisfy the apologists, to whose school the writer obviously belongs. The picture of Napoleon as a benign, peace-loving philanthropist, goaded on by bloodthirsty powers and an evil destiny, can hardly meet with general acceptance. Grant these premises, however, and a rather powerful feeling of causal sequence is derived from the work as a whole—which is not sustained upon careful analysis. The characterization is striking rather than fused. One is reminded of the saying that it is possible to prove anything by selection and omission.

The book is absorbing from cover to cover, but it will change no mature opinions. It will, however, shape many that are unformed: therein lies its virtue and its danger. As a supplement to Lanfrey, for example, it is excellent; but as the sole source of information for many to whom Napoleon has been only a name it is deplorable.

ERIK ACHORN.



*La Chute de l'Empire: La Légende de Napoléon, 1812-1815.* Par ÉDOUARD DRIAULT. (Paris: Alcan. 1927. Pp. vi, 484. 40 fr.)

THIS is the fifth and concluding volume of M. Driault's *Napoléon et l'Europe*. The four preceding volumes have appeared at intervals during the last twenty years and have been entitled: *La Politique Extérieure du Premier Consul (1800-1803)*; *Austerlitz: la Fin du Saint-Empire (1804-1806)*; *Tilsit: France et Russie sous le Premier Empire: la Question de Pologne (1806-1809)*; and *Le Grand Empire (1809-1812)*. The general theme of the complete work is the significance of Napoleon to France and to the rest of Europe. In the opinion of the learned author Napoleon had most beneficent plans for Europe. He aimed at peace for the Continent and liberty for the individual. By emancipating the individual he really laid the foundation for the rise of the various European nationalities. This is the "grand design". The break-up of the Holy Roman Empire and the pushing back of Russia were indispensable preliminaries to its successful execution. The kings of Europe in alliance with their misguided peoples thwarted the beneficent Napoleonic plans.

*La Chute de l'Empire: la Légende de Napoléon* narrates the final act of this stirring drama. Devoted to the events of the years 1813, 1814, and 1815, it recounts the familiar stories of the retreat of the Emperor from Moscow, the uprising of Prussia, the diplomacy of Austria, the Congress of Prague, the battle of Leipzig, Napoleon's remarkable campaign in defense of Paris, the Congress of Vienna, the "Hundred Days", and St. Helena. In the volume under review, therefore, M. Driault challenges comparison with the fifth volume of Lefèvre's *Histoire des Cabinets de l'Europe*, Houssaye's 1813, 1814, and especially with the eighth volume of Sorel's *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*.

Although M. Driault has worked at his task for thirty years and knows the archives of Paris thoroughly it is very unlikely that his work will supersede the magistral volumes of M. Sorel. He has not explored other European archives. He has allowed certain prejudices and preconceptions to color his whole work. He is a partizan of Mediterranean civilization and a believer in the Rhine as a natural and indispensable boundary of France. Napoleon is great because he is the great protagonist of these two ideas. Men and policies are measured by the way they fit into the "grand design". Because he helped to thwart the plans of Napoleon Metternich is characterized as an imbecile, the real author of Sadowa, a man unable to see beyond the end of his nose, and neither a statesman nor a diplomat. England, naturally, is the villain of the piece. Some practical reason is always at the bottom of even its seemingly generous actions; and Rhenish Prussia is the diabolical invention of Lord Castle-reagh. Because they did not insist on the Rhine frontier the French royalists betrayed France. The style is marked by great concentration and rapid transitions. The author frequently suggests rather than elucidates his point. The general result is a brilliant diplomatic and political history shot through with questionable historical interpretations.



The work has the usual scientific apparatus. It is preceded by a bibliography of six pages, which is not critical, and a suggestive essay of twenty-five pages on the balance of power. On nearly every page of the text reference is made to some of the more important sources used by the author and the book is likely to call the attention of historical scholars to some comparatively little-known reports of French diplomatic agents. The work has an analytical table of contents and a full index, which unfortunately is not topical.

C. P. HIGBY.

*An Economic History of Modern Britain: the Early Railway Age, 1820-1850.* By J. H. CLAPHAM, Litt.D., Fellow of King's College. (Cambridge: the University Press. 1926. Pp. xviii, 623. 25 s.)

In this work, which is to be completed in two further volumes, with at least an epilogue covering the period 1914-1920, Dr. Clapham covers the ground already surveyed by Dr. Lillian Knowles in her *Industrial and Commercial Revolutions in Great Britain during the Nineteenth Century*, and by C. R. Fay in his *Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century*. He works, however, on a scale unattempted in any hitherto published work, and brings into the story a wealth of detail which significantly alters many of the generalizations thus far accepted.

The first volume, now under review, is a veritable encyclopaedia for the period from 1820 to 1850 in regard to all such matters as population, communications—roads, canals, railroads—agriculture, commerce, industry, money, banking, and insurance, the economic activities and policies of the state, and finally, the conditions of life among the laboring population. Every available local history, special study, monograph, and doctor's thesis has been stripped of its essential information; and where the mass of materials thus available might be deemed inadequate, the reports of parliamentary committees and royal commissions, which have long lain neglected in blue books, have been called into service. The result is a work which synthesizes all existing studies, and goes beyond them by making significant additions based upon the author's own investigations and research. The only criticisms which may be hazarded are that there seems to be too assured an acceptance of the depositions before the royal commissions as objective evidence, and that no attempt has been made to get into the actual account-books of large and small industrial and agricultural enterprises to find the day-to-day conditions in going business undertakings. Such work must be done before any definitive description of certain sections of British economic history can be written.

Dr. Clapham brings to his task a remarkable knowledge of British geography as well as of trade history; and his favorite method is to tour from trade to trade and from county to county in the development of his theme. There is thus revealed the diversity of the national economic activity and organization. The persistence and great importance of the

domestic system under many forms in many regions all through the first half of the nineteenth century, already indicated for special industries by earlier writers, is set forth in detail, together with the limited application of machinery, the small utilization of steam power, and the restricted size of industrial establishments even in those trades where the factory was already dominant. Thus, for example, the cotton industry, the steam industry *par excellence*, used 31,000 horse-power of steam and 10,000 horse-power of water in 1834-1835, while in 1850 there were still only 71,000 horse-power of steam and 11,000 horse-power of water applied in the 1800 British cotton factories. All other textiles at this same time used only 34,000 horse-power of steam and 13,000 horse-power of water; and these installations in the textile mills represented the largest use of steam in industry in the country. Again, in cotton manufacturing, the trade most affected by the factory system, in all Great Britain there were only 113 firms employing more than 350 men; among the woollen and worsted manufacturers, only 34; and among the "engine and machine makers", only 14. The Industrial Revolution was indeed under way by 1850, but its effects were as yet limited.

Among the best parts of the book are the expositions of the development of economic policy. With his vast knowledge, Dr. Clapham is able to bring together the business situation, the factors of personal prejudice and traditional belief, and the special requirements of interested business elements, and to show how all these resulted in a banking act, a railroad enactment, the repeal of a corn law, or the abandonment of a navigation act. His sketch of the repeal of the navigation code in 1849 is quite characteristic. This consummation was not due primarily to the current *laissez-faire* zeal which seemed to be sweeping everything before it. Though the famine revealed some of the mysteries of the law, when it was found that a Dutchman could not load grain for London in Danzig, and though manufacturers occasionally had to bring indigo from Holland *via* the United States, trade was so adjusted to the code through centuries of experience that there was no real protest against it at home. But the colonials began to resent it when their preference in British markets disappeared with the repeal of the Corn Laws. Moreover, Prussia and the Zollverein, essential to British trade not only for their own markets but as bases from which "satisfactory quantities" of English cotton goods were smuggled into Russia, demanded greater maritime freedom and even intimated that in default of the repeal of the British act, it might be imitated. At the same moment Holland and the United States let their dislike be known, and the result was the victory for free trade.

Dr. Clapham is also especially happy in his analysis of the effects upon the life of the people of the whole economic movement which he portrays, though it is to be regretted that he views his own task rather narrowly and refrains from tracing similar reactions in politics. In connection with the discussion of general conditions two of the most positive contributions of the volume are made. It is definitely shown that the

rapid growth of the population had no relation to Speenhamland poor relief, although the question of what caused this increase is not satisfactorily answered. Secondly, a complete refutation is provided for the notion that everything was getting worse for the workingman down to some unspecified date in the 1840's. It is shown conclusively that there was a sharp price fall in 1820-1821, after which the purchasing power of wages was definitely greater than it had been in 1790. The consequent rise in effective demand at home was doubtless an important factor in the changes which followed.

The twelve years which have elapsed in the production of this volume are not too long for a work of such quality; yet in anticipation of similarly excellent treatment of the stirring developments after 1850 all scholars must express the hope that the second volume will appear at a shorter interval.

FREDERICK C. DIETZ.

*Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Épilogue, 1895-1914.*

Par ÉLIE HALÉVY, Professor à l'École Libre des Sciences Politiques. (Paris: Hachette. 1926. Pp. vi, 420. 50 fr.)

PROFESSOR HALÉVY to whose pen we are already indebted for brilliant volumes on the first half of the nineteenth century now suddenly makes a plunge forward and lands unexpectedly at 1895 to start what he calls the epilogue to his great series of seven volumes on the history of the English people in that century. This series now has three volumes up to 1841. Four more are planned which will conclude with the decline of the Liberal party, 1880-1895. The present book deals with the period 1895-1905, "the imperialists in power", and is to be followed by a second covering the years 1905-1914, to be entitled *Vers la Démocratie et vers la Guerre*. Such a decision was a hardy one, for in this later period official papers are as yet often unpublished. There are great biographies which are still held back and, above all, the scene is much more crowded as history travels along at a faster gait.

We are well accustomed to the admirable surveys of social and industrial life which Professor Halévy has given us in time past. The natural query is, how does he fare in a period during which problems of imperial and foreign policy are to the front? The method is essentially the same. He has made use chiefly of the press and of reports of speeches, of the voluminous official reports which deal with domestic affairs, to a certain extent of pamphlets, and here and there of official correspondence relating to foreign affairs. The monthly and quarterly press he seems to have neglected; his use of such biographies as there are does not appear to a great extent; and his information regarding foreign policy leaves one largely in the situation of the man in the street who has to depend for his knowledge on the daily press.

It is a pity that there was no hard-fought general election during this period, for even in the exaggerations and lies of such a contest there is

a wealth of material which comes to the surface. When this is submitted to analysis and digestion it forms admirable material for the historian who has the qualities and interests of the author. Important though the question of education is, that subject and the quarrel between the churches regarding it receive perhaps a disproportionate space when a little less than one-fifth of the entire book is devoted to it. In similar fashion, though this is the time when imperial problems are to the fore, there is little on the subject and that rather badly scattered. The Boer War of course receives attention but the colonial conferences of 1897 and 1902, and the federation of Australia for example, are dismissed very briefly. As far as foreign policy is concerned, it seems to take a back seat throughout.

The result is that we do not have a history of the Empire when the imperialists are in power. Even Ireland receives only fifteen pages in a book of four hundred and sixteen. The heart of the book lies of course in the second part, dealing with education and religion, the labor movement and the birth of the Labor Party, and later with the controversies regarding tariff reform. Here we have a general field which has attracted the author before and in which he is really at home. He draws an admirable picture of the conservative tenets which first marked the growth of the labor movement in England and of the gradual penetration of socialist doctrine. The alarm of capital at such tendencies which led to lockouts and strikes and which was followed by the Taff Vale decision resulted in a temporary victory for the employers. This was perhaps aided by the general interest of the world in events across the water in China and South Africa. The more effective result, however, lay in the establishment of the "Labour Representation Committee", and in the advent in the House of Commons of Labor members who did not respond either to Liberal or Unionist whips. This was the great event in the social history of the time.

There is also an interesting analysis of the Chamberlain programme and of the controversy between tariff reform and free trade. Professor Halévy draws a picture of the dangers to which Great Britain was exposed by industrial competition and by the dumping in England of German and American goods. This is followed by an excursion into rival budget programmes and a conclusion that, as Mr. Balfour's education act of 1902 had helped to unite the two rival sections of the Liberal party, so Mr. Chamberlain's tariff proposals supplied the Liberal party with a fighting slogan which wiped out for a time the old differences and thus led to the *débâcle* of Unionism before the advance of a free-trade party. Such a general view of British history from the adroit hand of the author is welcome. He is strikingly impartial throughout though naturally a liberal, even a radical, in his tendencies.

A. L. P. DENNIS.

*Early Life and Letters of John Morley.* By F. W. HIRST. Two volumes. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1927. Pp. xxvi, 327; ix, 285. 28 s.)

MR. HIRST leaves no one in doubt as to the circumstances under which he was led to write this work. He is equally clear in stating the nature of his own attitude towards Morley.

At Oxford I belonged to a group of Liberals who found sustenance in John Morley's writings and speeches. Judge then of my elation when in 1898 he invited me to help him in exploring the archives at Hawarden for his *Life of Gladstone*. From that time onwards I was treated as a member of the family. He struck me as the greatest man I had ever met, most inspiring of politicians, most fascinating of talkers. I never changed my opinion, or wavered in my admiration for his politics, even when he failed, as I sometimes thought he did, in action.

The younger by thirty-five years, Mr. Hirst knew Morley as "the Liberal Statesman, cautious, responsible, slow to action", a very different man, in guise at least, from the editor of the *Fortnightly Review* and the ally of Joseph Chamberlain—that "earlier Morley, dashing journalist, ardent rationalist, impetuous radical, critic of church and throne". For many of those who are coeval with Mr. Hirst, and who had soaked themselves in *Voltaire* and *Compromise*, a surprise was in store when they met the Morley of 1900—urbane, sympathetic, and non-polemical in after-dinner talk.

It is clear from Mr. Hirst's concluding words that these two volumes are to be followed by another or others. Here he reviews a period of forty-seven years (1838–1885), closing with the first omens of that split in the Liberal party which followed Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule. The general election of 1885 marks "the end of Morley's career as a journalist, man of letters and private member of Parliament". He became an administrator—without reluctance. "Nor did he ever regret the choice. The air of Olympus agreed with him. He enjoyed it and he enjoyed also the pomps and ceremonies and privileges of high office." Mr. Hirst proposes to ask at a later day how far responsibility changed Morley's character and opinions. Meanwhile he fixes a dividing line at the point where Morley and Chamberlain began to drift apart.

No part of this book is more arresting than the chapters which reveal how arduous was the effort by which Morley mounted beyond the first rung of the ladder. At twenty-two he was without money, or family connections, or prestige of a brilliant course at the university. Oxford had given him no more than a pass degree. In a word his chance of becoming Secretary for India was precisely that which at the same stage Samuel Johnson possessed of becoming literary dictator. Both emerged from Grub Street, but not without suffering from its hard discipline. In Morley's case it was journalism which gave the real start, with the *Fortnightly Review* as a gateway to opportunity. His work as editor furnishes an example of perfect co-ordination. Less eminent in pure scholarship than Acton

or Bryce, Morley was a true man of letters, with a vivid interest in people and an unflagging interest in ideas. Becoming editor of the *Fortnightly Review* in 1866, and holding this chair till 1882, he was fortunate in that the most eminent of the Victorians were then at their prime. During these years Morley's own contribution to the literature of ideas commanded the admiration of all Liberals, while that genius for friendship with which he credited Chamberlain and which was no less his own, enabled him to secure contributions from thinkers of the utmost eminence. It would be hard to find another English editor to place in the same bracket with Morley when one considers the conjunction of high intellectual gifts with those qualities of personal appeal which are needed to enlist and hold writers of the highest quality.

Morley's intellectual indebtedness to Mill and Comte is well known. Less well known is the stimulus which, as pointed out by Mr. Hirst, he owed to Huxley. No more notable contribution to the *Fortnightly* was made during the whole period of Morley's connection therewith than Huxley's article on "The Physical Basis of Life", which appeared in February, 1869. It was of importance to Morley that at this stage of his career he should have captured such a paper, and there can be little doubt that Huxley had much to do in heading him so strongly towards Lucretius. Those who remember Gladstone's controversy with Huxley during the 'eighties over the Gadarene swine will derive the more interest from contemplating the spiritual affinity of Gladstone and Morley despite the chasm which yawned between them in respect to dogma. It should be pointed out that Mr. Hirst's book devotes a special chapter to Morley's views on religion.

The first of these volumes centres in the nurture of the young radical. The second finds a motive equally distinct in Morley's transition from literature and journalism to public life. Here the outstanding theme is the contact which he established with the Birmingham party under Chamberlain, diversified by his friendship with Courtney. In sketching this portion of Morley's life Mr. Hirst has enjoyed the advantage of access to papers made available by Miss Grace Morley and Mr. F. W. Morley. Indeed the whole work rests upon materials of the first quality, and such as would not be placed at the disposal of a biographer who lacked the complete confidence of the family. An accomplished writer, no less than a discriminating disciple, Mr. Hirst has portrayed the first half of Morley's life with knowledge and fairness. His work, admirable to this point, can not fail, when completed, to find a permanent place in Victorian biography. Manifestly, it is an indispensable supplement to Morley's *Recollections*.



*A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement.* By G. D. H. COLE. Two volumes in one. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1927. Pp. 192, 211. \$4.50.)

A GOOD survey of the British labor movement since the Industrial Revolution has long been needed. Much has been accomplished by pioneers in certain fields such as trade-union history, co-operation, and Chartism, but it has been left for G. D. H. Cole to produce the first synoptic view. Although his debt to the Webbs, the Hammonds, Max Beer, and other spade-workers is considerable, certain sections are the fruits of his own investigations. Mr. Cole was already the biographer of Cobbett and Owen and for the period of the 'sixties he has delved a little in the Howell Collections. The results in the present work are very creditable. The account is always fresh and stimulating even when drawing heavily upon the work of others.

The thesis of the book is the essential unity of the working-class movement. In the trade unions, co-operative associations, and political organizations the author sees but different aspects of a single endeavor, which is to solve the problems created for the masses by the twin revolutions in agriculture and industry. In this effort the movement has passed through three distinct phases. Until 1848 it was on the whole backward-looking. The underlying purpose of each agitation, whether of Luddites, Owenite trade unionists, agricultural laborers, or Chartists, was to destroy the hated industrialism and restore the old peasant village society. From 1848 to about 1880 was a second phase during which Labor became acclimated to the capitalist régime. Energy was no longer wasted in futile efforts to turn back the hands of the clock, but was devoted to building up organizations within the existing system. Some strong trade, co-operative, and friendly societies resulted from the workers' effort to make a place for themselves. Such conflicts with capital as arose were merely for better wages and conditions. Politically the era was featured by the alliance of Liberalism and Labor. The third phase, which began in the eighteen-eighties, was marked by the "new" unionism, the rise of Labor as an independent political force, and the acceptance of Socialism as the creed of an increasing number of workers.

The author, who is the leading exponent of Guild Socialism, naturally dwells upon all attempts at producers' co-operation and control. Similarly, in view of tendencies recently apparent in the ranks of British labor, the feeble beginnings of internationalism in the last century assume a new importance.

One omission in the book is surprising. The chapter on the return of Socialism in the 'eighties relates the activities of H. M. Hyndman, William Morris, and Belfort Bax, but fails to mention the Fabians. Were it not for a few casual references in later chapters the reader would be unaware of the existence of this famous society. This neglect is unfortunate, because no account of the Labor movement can be complete without a consideration of the influence of Sidney Webb, Bernard Shaw, and the other



Fabian essayists. Many readers will disagree, moreover, with statements (I. 179) which seem to undervalue the importance of those religious and humanitarian ideals which have frequently been powerful factors behind British reform agitations. The spirit manifest in such movements as Christian Socialism can not be ignored.

These are, however, relatively minor criticisms. The book is a welcome and valuable addition to the rapidly growing bibliography of British labor history. We look forward to the time when the author will carry out his indicated intention of covering the same ground in a far larger work.

CARL F. BRAND.

*Ricasoli and the Risorgimento in Tuscany.* By E. K. HANCOCK, Professor of Modern History in the University of Adelaide. (London: Faber and Gwyer. 1926. Pp. x, 320. 16 s.)

THIS volume is a real contribution to Risorgimento literature in the English language, though it is not altogether satisfactory to the historical student. Hancock has written after much patient research and his text proves that he has laid under contribution the principal printed sources listed in his rich bibliography of local Tuscan history. He states that he has also had at his disposal the family archives of the Ricasoli at Brolio—and they have been of some service to him—but his declaration that, for any study of Ricasoli, “apart from these archives the available manuscript sources are negligible”, is entirely incorrect and would indicate unfamiliarity on the writer’s part with the larger field of Risorgimento history. The truth is that there are masses of unpublished documents in the Italian state archives and in other public collections relating to Ricasoli’s life and achievements. In using the word *available* Hancock perhaps means to cover the fact that the state archives were not open to him for most of his period. But he should have known that for historical students other public collections are not subject to the same restrictions, and his detailed descriptive bibliography should have mentioned the existence of this rich unpublished material, even if a part of it were for him not *available*.

It is also strange that in his copious foot-notes he makes no reference to William Roscoe Thayer’s masterly *Life and Times of Cavour*, which contains a fine appreciation of Ricasoli and takes a much broader view of Risorgimento events than Hancock has given. The latter’s volume professes to be, and is, a biography of Ricasoli, 1846–1860, and a detailed study of local conditions and events during the period, particularly of the development of popular political thought as dominated by the stern Tuscan leader. As such it is interesting and useful, but to be fully appreciated it presupposes on the reader’s part a general understanding, such as Thayer gives, of the larger drama of the Italian struggle.

As a picture of Tuscan political life Hancock’s work is generally correct. It gives an excellent, though melancholy, view, that is not exag-

gerated, of the internal weakness and dissensions of the state, showing well the decadence of political life in Florence and Leghorn that justified Tuscany's ultimate fate in becoming "nothing more than a province of another state". The writer justly observes that the Italian revolutionists of 1848 and 1849 gave more importance to song and enthusiasm than to organization, discipline, and co-operation. His analysis of portions of the pamphlet literature of the period is for the most part good and contributes to an understanding of the conflicting currents of public opinion. He evidently feels that his narrative, in its description of much fruitless local endeavor, is at times tedious, and he attempts to lighten it by frequent touches of humor, which are often effective, but which do not always contribute to accuracy of historical interpretation. At some points he seems to be laughing at the tense dramatic struggle, whereas in reality it is clear from his work as a whole that he is in sincere sympathy with the Italian patriots, with their purposes, and with the ultimate achievement of national unity.

Hancock shows himself to be a keen political philosopher and a clever political portrait painter, though his brush errs at times in exaggerating individual idiosyncrasies. He indulges his sarcasm at Lambruschini's expense, and to the detriment of his canvas as an accurate portrait. He seeks to represent Ricasoli, as he is, a great figure in Italian history, but gives such undue prominence to his peculiarities as to distort the likeness. The writer is deeply irritated by Ricasoli's puritanism, and harps upon it to an extent that irritates the reader against the writer—or alienates the reader's sympathy from the "Iron Baron". The term "narrow intellect" is too strong to be applied to a man who was one of the early seers of Italian unity and an indispensable figure in its achievement.

A good example of the writer's keen analysis of evidence is given in his appendix on "Prince Jerome in Tuscany", proving that Prince Napoleon at the outset of the campaign of 1859 shared no dreams of Napoleon III. as to the setting up of a Napoleonic throne in Central Italy. The Emperor himself at this time was consistently hostile to the union of Tuscany with Piedmont and to Italian unity.

Hancock's translation of Victor Emmanuel's nickname "Re Galantuomo", as "Gentleman King" is erroneous. "Galantuomo" is not the equivalent of "Gentiluomo". The meaning of the nickname is "King Honest Man", or "King-who-keeps-his-word". The king died in 1878, not 1877.

In his note to page 81, the writer has strangely confused Ricasoli's memorandum of March 5, in the preparation of which Salvagnoli is said to have collaborated, and the latter's pamphlet, *Discorso sullo Stato Politico della Toscana nel Marzo del 1847*. While the two writings are similar in purpose, they are totally different in form, and the *Discorso* can not be considered in any way as the publication of the memorandum "with a few modifications".

To his bibliography Hancock should add Ricasoli's seven unpublished letters addressed to Dott. Antonio Ricci and published in 1893, and Angiola Doria's "Carteggio Inedito Salvagnoli-Ricasoli". The latter was published in *Il Risorgimento Italiano*, volume XVIII., July-December, 1925, perhaps too late for use in the preparation of this volume. In the letter of April 7 in this *Carteggio* there is a reference indicating that Salvagnoli's *Discorso* was a new original writing to be submitted to Ricasoli and Lambruschini for criticism about a month after the preparation of the former's memorandum.

H. NELSON GAY.

*Thirty Years of Modern History.* By WILLIAM KAY WALLACE.  
(London: Allen and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company.  
1926. Pp. 293. 10 s. 6 d.)

THE reader can see anything he desires to see in the sort of history that Mr. Wallace writes, and he can see much that is good. Mr. Harry Elmer Barnes reviewed the *Trend of History* (1922) and marched the author straight into the New History camp. (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 520.) Mr. Barnes regretted only that Mr. Wallace had not known Polard, Gillespie, Ogg, Abbott, Hayes, Fueter, Marvin, and others, who are supposed to have had something to do with an "accepted synthesis of modern history", whatever that may be. Mr. Phillips Bradley reviewed in a friendly manner the *Passing of Politics* (1924) but would have had Mr. Wallace know more about Hobson, Cole, Duguitt, Krabbe, Burns, Laski, and others. (*Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.*, XIX. 182.) Clearly there has been no lack of disposition to educate Mr. Wallace but he goes along in the same carefree manner.

It was to be expected that *Thirty Years of Modern History* would contain many things found in the *Trend of History* and in the *Passing of Politics*. With more practice the author is surer of the trend of history, and he hangs a wreath on the door of politics with a serenity that indicates no personal bereavement. There is much that is interesting in the author's interpretation of the history of the last thirty years, but it must be remembered that it is interpretation and not history. There is more about turning-points, trends, and transformations than the orthodox historian likes to see. Mr. Wallace writes brilliantly but he appears to lack sophistication. He thinks he is dealing with "one of those dissolving periods in history". He is confident that the organization of society and the state is now "undergoing a complete transformation". He discusses a "New Age" into which we are now entering. Visions such as these have appeared to students of history throughout the centuries.

An example of the way in which Mr. Wallace does things appears in his first chapter, on William II. of Germany. The fact that the author's places of residence are Fifth Avenue, New York, and Place Vendôme, Paris, arouses lively expectations of slaughter. One finds on

the contrary that William II. is happily explained. "He had come to accept implicitly the new doctrines of the will to power, of German racial supremacy, and the Pan-Germanic ideal of world dominion." We are told that his "concept of world empire was thus in a large measure mystical and non-political". The matter is finally summed up in these terms: "It is impossible to understand the part played by the last German Emperor or the history of the epoch unless we abandon all rational, individualist preconceptions and orthodox political standards and recognize that we are standing on the threshold of a new age. The fact that William II. himself never realized this, that in pursuing his policy he made use of the methods of politics while concerned with arriving at results unattainable by such a course, accounts for so much that appears incongruous and inconsistent in his acts." The Kaiser, it appears, was not aware of the passing of politics. He had the wrong medicine.

The book is well worth reading. There is a great deal of information in it, and there is always an interesting if somewhat dogmatic interpretation. The range of the author's interests and observations is surprisingly wide. The only serious fault is the devotion to formula and the too great certainty with which the history of the last thirty years is explained. It is going far to say of the World War, "It belongs to the old era, and marks its close. Its value was negative. It cleared the air to the extent that the political State-system was discredited, and the pathway for social development along lines of efficient organization was thrown open." This is further than the historian can go.

J. P. BRETZ.

*Revolt in the Desert.* By T. E. LAWRENCE. (New York: Doran. 1927. Pp. 328. \$3.00.)

THIS is a simple tale by a young Englishman still in the twenties who in 1916 chafed at his desk in Cairo and secured a short holiday in order to take a peep at Arabia. So far there is nothing that might not have happened to hundreds of enterprising and highly-educated young Englishmen, but in this youth the British Empire discovered another Clive gifted with prophetic discernment and the genius of Kipling in telling his tale.

The book is what the Germans call epoch-making and *bahnbrechend*. It is history at first hand comparable only to Xenophon's *Anabasis* or the inimitable story of Marco Polo. To review such a book one must be not only historian but a specialist also in ethnology, ethology, geology, theology, psychology, to say nothing of military grand strategy. Never have I read so encyclopaedic a narrative more lucidly expressed or such a vast number of interesting facts in so small a compass.

Young Lawrence arrived on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea near to Mecca as nothing more than a joy-riding subaltern curious to see things as they were. He has no passes or authority but like a hero of Homer has a divinity that shows him where and how to strike. He insists on a permit into the interior in search of the great Sheik Feisal

but this is refused because no Christian has ever penetrated so far and no governor on the coast can protect him beyond the town walls. Lawrence however is not as other Christians. He knows the vernacular and he knows the camel. He overrides every objection and like Nelson at Copenhagen puts the telescope to his blind eye and sees only with the spiritual one which the Oriental places at the centre of Buddha's forehead.

*Revolt in the Desert* is largely the revolt of Lawrence against army red tape and military caution in Cairo.

When Lawrence looked at Feisal for the first time and picked him as the prospective leader of the Arabian forces he performed an act no less momentous than when Jefferson Davis ordered Lee to command the army of Northern Virginia. A slave conducted Lawrence

to an inner court on whose further side, framed between the uprights of a black doorway, stood a white figure waiting tensely for me. I felt at first glance that this was the man I had come to Arabia to seek—the leader who would bring the Arab revolt to full glory. Feisal looked very tall and pillar-like, very slender, in his long white silk robes and his brown head-cloth bound with a brilliant scarlet and gold cord. His eyelids were dropped; and his black beard and colourless face were like a mask against the strange still watchfulness of his body. His hands were crossed in front of him on his dagger.

Lawrence and Feisal were the two strong men who came together from the ends of the earth, to verify the truth of Kipling

For there is neither East nor West, border nor breed nor birth  
When two strong men stand face to face though they come from the ends  
of the earth.

For two years Lawrence was outwardly an Arab, staff-officer to Feisal, the whitest of Christian soldiers, enduring for weeks and months the blistering heat of the desert and then again the heavy snows and fierce cold of the mountain regions, sharing the discomforts of native conditions, moving from tribe to tribe with a charmed life, promising British help at moments when he could himself give nothing—in short, organizing what at first was a mere series of petty insurrections into a great national movement whose destiny was to crumple up the German and Turkish forces between Mecca and Damascus, save Suez as the highway to India, and give immortal glory to Allenby and the British army in Jerusalem.

Before Lawrence have been many scholars and travellers who have given us wonder-tales of an Arabia as impenetrable as old Tibet—Richard Burton perhaps the most notable. Lawrence however takes one's breath away by the infantile directness and simplicity with which from day to day he sets down the commonplaces of his life, which commonplaces prove now to be of such value as, for instance, an eye-witness account of the Battle of Waterloo or the table-talk of Washington or Franklin. Whether or not Lawrence himself appreciated the full ex-

tent of his contributions to many sciences I know not, but of this one stout volume I should grieve if a single page were curtailed.

As the crow flies it is about one thousand miles from Mecca to Damascus and another thousand miles thence to the fringes of Europe and another thousand miles to London. We get some insight into the meaning of grand strategy when we learn that the Kaiser had to weaken his direct attack on the French front because of his efforts in the direction of the highway to British India. But then, what mortal power could foresee that the tribesmen of the desert who at one moment knew nothing of war but blood-feuds would within a few weeks forget their private grievances under the magic of an insignificant clerk of the Egyptian War Department?

Lawrence entered into the spirit of the Arab and in his pages we find a record of persistent friendships; and, if there are differences, they end amicably and always for the greatest good of the greatest number. He overstepped outrageously the regulations laid down by commanding officers in Cairo, but when he came to them afterwards for guns, munitions, and money he brought them also news of good cheer to the Allied cause and of things done in Arabia which no one but himself could have accomplished. And so he was forgiven and sent back to the Arab encampments, freighted with what they most needed and more especially with gold for the troops.

Lawrence knew what London only surmised: that Arabia hated the Turk with a holy fury. His march on Damascus was made successful, thanks to the many villages where the retreating enemy had left such marks of his occupation as were formerly credited only to Red Indians. The survivors of this reconquered territory rushed frantically in the wake of Lawrence and his men, burning to avenge on the retreating Turks the cruelties of which they had been victims. Men are the creatures of God, of divine origin therefore; but the rapidity with which war transforms them into bloodthirsty beasts must ever be a stumbling-block to the pious. Let me quote Lawrence's reference to entering a village on the Damascus road and his account of the great sheik Tallal who was driven frantic by the tales of cruelty against his own people done by the enemy:

We rode past the other bodies of men and women and four dead babies looking very soiled in the daylight, towards the village whose loneliness we now knew meant death and horror. By the outskirts were low mud walls, sheep-folds, and on one something red and white. I looked close and saw the body of a woman folded across it, bottom upwards, nailed there by a saw bayonet whose haft stuck hideously into the air from between her naked legs. About her lay others, perhaps twenty in all, variously killed. . . . I said: "The best of you brings me the most Turkish dead", and we turned after the fading enemy, on our way shooting down those who had fallen out by the roadside and came imploring our pity.

But my allotted space is exhausted and the epic ending of the noble Tallal must be sung by some prospective Homer. It remains for me only

to add that there are a dozen or more portraits of which only those of Lawrence and Feisal have interest. There is also an adequate index and map of the region affected.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

*The World Crisis, 1916-1918.* By WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P. Two volumes. (London: Thornton Butterworth; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1927. Pp. xviii, 302; xii, 325. 42 s.)

WHATEVER may be thought of Mr. Churchill's military strategy and its results, which are not highly regarded by experts, there can be no gainsaying that this man has brought to every task he has undertaken an enthusiasm, an energy, and a pertinacity which can only be called amazing. To these qualities he adds the rare one of magnanimity; and the absence of bitterness which he has invariably manifested, even in the face of rancorous attacks, has doubtless brought it about, that to-day he commands the admiration, the respect, and even the affection of the great majority of his countrymen. Of his sincerity and loyalty there was never the slightest doubt; but a dramatic, almost theatrical mode of expression, a temerity in the face of critical situations which amounted to cocksureness, and a versatility which gave an impression of unsteadiness, were responsible for his grave failures during his career as First Lord of the Admiralty, and for the fact that he has never arrived at the probable goal of his ambitions, the premiership.

In the notices of the first volumes of his work in this *Review* (XXIX. 137, 558) full credit was given Mr. Churchill for his excellent qualities and for the vivacity of his narrative. The present two volumes show a still more brilliant literary craftsmanship. If the style is sometimes journalistic, it is certainly journalism of the highest type, resulting often in passages which stir the reader's blood, like the final paragraph in the chapter entitled "The Intervention of the United States":

From the Atlantic to the Pacific the call was answered and obeyed. Iron laws of compulsory service, reinforced by social pressures of mutual discipline in which the great majority of the population took part, asserted an instantaneous unity of opinion. No one stood against the torrent. Pacificism, indifference, dissent, were swept from the path and fiercely pursued to extermination; and with a roar of slowly gathered pent-up wrath which overpowered in its din every discordant yell, the American nation sprang to arms.

There is another reason for the better, the solider quality of these last two volumes, in that Mr. Churchill is no longer defending himself (alas, vainly) from attacks upon his policies as First Lord. His career during the World War after his resignation from that office was one of almost unvaried success, and there can be no doubt that he accomplished very great things for his country, especially as Minister of Munitions in Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition Government, in which he kept well up with the fast pace set by his energetic chief.



Mr. Churchill's straightforward yet modest chronicle of this important phase of his war work is perhaps the most interesting and weighty part of his book, which gains in importance by the very fact that he was, even when out of office, nevertheless in the midst of things. As he himself puts it in the preface to volume I. of the present series:

I had many and varied opportunities of learning about the war. During the first five months which this volume covers till May, 1916, I commanded a battalion in the line at "Plugstreet". Thereafter, until July, 1917, I was occupied in Parliament, and also in defending my conduct as First Lord of the Admiralty before the Statutory Commission of Inquiry into the Dardanelles Expedition. In both these periods I was closely in touch with some of the leading personalities, military and civil, who were conducting British affairs, and also to a lesser extent with those similarly placed in France. I was therefore able though in a private station to follow with attention political and military incidents. In July, 1917, I became Minister of Munitions in Mr. Lloyd George's administration, and thus for the last seventeen months of the war I was responsible for supplying the Army and Air Force with all their war material. I deem it of interest to record before they fade the impression and emphasis of various episodes, so far as I was personally able to appreciate them.

But the two present volumes amount to far more than a mere description of the author's personal participation in public affairs. They are nothing more nor less than a history of the World War itself from the beginning of 1916 to the Armistice; for, though in the preface to his volume *The World Crisis, 1915*, the author says "I must therefore at the outset disclaim the position of the historian", nevertheless all the elements of military history are present in these two volumes, including descriptions of situations and exact data regarding strategic developments, detailed chronicles of battle tactics, and, most significant of all, judgments pronounced upon the actors in the great drama.

The two most interesting subjects treated in the first volume of the present two are the Battle of Jutland and the intervention of the United States. The account of Jutland is a most carefully compiled and interesting one. The author agrees with most naval experts in blaming Admiral Jellicoe for what Sir Julian Corbett called "the disheartening truth", namely, that the battle had not been forced to a conclusion, though, as our author states, the British forces were fully twice as powerful as those of Admiral Scheer.

In general it may be said of Mr. Churchill's war career that, except in carrying out a concrete task, as he did when Minister of Munitions, he was a better and more constructive critic than actor. His judgment and imagination, whenever a situation allowed of subjective treatment, gave him a clarity of vision, even in matters of military strategy, which he was not slow in defending, even against the criticisms of experts like Kitchener, and later Robertson.

Admiration for the author's many brilliant qualities must however not allow his readers to take his conclusions too readily for granted, for the

instinct to defend his own acts and opinions is never quite absent, and, as Sir F. Maurice says of him, "he speaks with equal certainty when his sources of information are good and bad. He mixes gossip and hearsay with real evidence". In many cases Mr. Churchill's dicta have aroused more than disapproval. Of his statement that practically all the French regiments revolted in June, 1917, and started to march on Paris, Mr. Painlevé, former French Minister of War, says, in a recent interview: "In reality there was only a vague tendency that way. There certainly were spasmodic refusals to return to the ranks and vehement demands for leave. But in order to reduce these painful events to their real importance it is only necessary to recall the fact that discipline was entirely re-established after five weeks. Unhappily Marshal Pétain was obliged to authorize twenty-three executions, but it should be remembered that an army of 4,000,000 men and a front of 200 miles were at stake." Another instance of the temerity of Mr. Churchill's judgment is his severe arraignment of President Wilson's attitude before the American declaration of war against the German government. Jauntily putting aside the explanations of "American historians", he says of the President:

He would have been greatly helped in his task [of making up his mind how to act] if he had reached a definite conclusion where in the European struggle Right lay. . . . He did not truly divine the instinct of the American people. . . . Step by step the President had been pursued and brought to bay. By slow, merciless degrees, against his dearest hopes, against his gravest doubts, against his deepest inclinations, in stultification of all he had said and done and left undone in thirty months of carnage, he was forced to give the signal he dreaded and abhorred. Throughout he had been beneath the true dominant note of American sentiment. He had behind his policy a reasoned explanation and massive argument, and all must respect the motives of a statesman who seeks to spare his country the waste and horrors of war. But nothing can reconcile what he said after March, 1917, with the guidance he had given before. What he did in April, 1917, could have been done in May, 1915. And if done then what abridgment of the slaughter; what sparing of the agony; what ruin, what catastrophies would have been prevented; in how many million homes would an empty chair be occupied to-day; how different would be the shattered world in which victors and vanquished alike are condemned to live!

In all this, however much of truth it may contain, there is no appreciation of the fact that, in spite of the fuming of the Allies and the impatience of a great part of the American people, the United States, as a whole, was not really ready to enter the war with undivided, determined purpose until the time, or near to it, that it actually did so.

In regard to the importance to the peace of the world of the American intervention, Mr. Churchill says (I. 216), "If the Allies had been left to face the collapse of Russia without being sustained by the intervention of the United States, it seems certain that France could not have survived the year, and the war would have ended in a peace by negotiation, or in other words, a German victory".

This means, and the facts leave no loop-hole of escape from this judgment, that, if the United States had not come to the rescue of the Allies, a peace would have been made which would have left German militarism and imperialism stronger and more aggressive than ever, together with the certainty of another and still bitterer world struggle, of which the Anglo-Saxon nations would have borne the brunt.

EDWARD BRECK.

*Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy.* By G. P. GOOCH, D.Litt., F.B.A. (London: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1927. Pp. viii, 218. 7 s. 6 d.)

"THIS little book has been written in the hope of aiding students of the World War and its causes to keep pace with the almost bewildering accumulation of material." How rapidly the material is accumulating is seen in the fact that when Dr. Gooch addressed the British Institute of International Affairs on this subject in December, 1922, he referred to only seventy titles, whereas he now mentions almost three hundred authors, many of them with several volumes, and enumerates more than twenty collections of documents, besides important magazine articles. Strictly military writings are pretty generally excluded, and students of the economic and social aspects of the war are referred to the gigantic series of the Carnegie Endowment. The subject of the volume, then, is the high politics and diplomacy of Europe from the accession of William II. to the Treaty of Versailles, as they have been set forth by the principal actors down to January, 1927. The following omissions have been noted: Sir P. Sykes, *Sir Mortimer Durand*; Frank Hattigan, *Diversions of a Diplomat*; Cardinal Mercier's *Own Story*; the anonymous *Plutarque n'a pas Menti*; "Justus", *N. Machi di Cellere all' Ambasciata di Washington*; *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*; General Gourko, *Russia in 1914-1917*; C. Nabokoff, *The Ordeal of a Diplomat*; General Denikin, *The Russian Turmoil*; D. R. Francis, *Russia from the American Embassy*; I. N. Morris, *From an American Legation*; and D. F. Houston, *Eight Years in Wilson's Cabinet*.

Dr. Gooch calls his book "a *causerie*, not a bibliography", but certainly no better bibliography in moderate compass has been published. Anyone who has delved into the literature of the war will marvel at the skill with which the author has managed to select and compress the salient points of each book, to reveal by a few apt quotations something of the personality and point of view of each writer, and at the same time to preserve an even keel in the sea of conflicting statements and opposing opinions. Though not hesitating at any moment to challenge the truth of an allegation or the sense of an argument, he is generally content to let each witness plead his own case and to withhold his own judgment until the last chapter. Thus the point of view of every nation is fairly presented, and the reader who has a prejudice for or against a particular nation is offered a corrective. The book may be unhesitatingly recommended to

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all who are interested in the "war guilt" question, and perhaps most of all to the hardened controversialists who need an air-plane view of the battle-field. Moreover, Dr. Gooch possesses the knack of moving from book to book in consequential fashion, and since he writes with ease and elegance, the reading of what is an extremely complicated story is a genuine pleasure.

The Olympian detachment of the author affords, of course, peculiar interest to his verdict on the question of responsibility for the war. He clearly refuses to accept the doctrine of the innocence of the Central Powers and the unique responsibility of the Entente. No judgment is expressed on Serbia, doubtless because her policy can be viewed as "a new *Risorgimento*, claiming the approval of all friends of its Italian model", or as "an incident in a vast Pan-Slav uprising against the Teutonic Powers of Central Europe" (p. 119). But those Powers have much to answer for. In the Austrian documents, "Berchtold appears determined on war with Serbia, even at the cost of a world-wide conflagration" (p. 70); "Francis Joseph was not a pawn, and was quite aware of what he was doing" (p. 67). Bethmann's promise of July 6 deprives him "of all claim to statesmanship": "It was his business to be aware that Russian prestige would almost certainly forbid it [the Austro-Serb conflict] to be localized" (p. 28). Stieve's animadversions on Russian policy are described as "highly-coloured editorial reflections" (p. 100), and the Russian mobilization is not condemned (though neither is it approved). On this last point, Dr. Gooch, in his analyses of Tirpitz's *Politische Dokumente* and Zuehl's *Erich von Falkenhayn*, fails to mention the important revelations that both the admiral and the general, as well as Moltke, opposed making the Russian mobilization a *casus belli*; which plays havoc with the classic German contention. The judgment on M. Poincaré's volumes is cautious: "The impression made by . . . this skilful and hard-hitting apologia on critics and readers . . . depends on whether and to what extent they accept his assertions and denials in preference to the compromising statements of witnesses who have passed away" (p. 145). In any case, "France, though not desiring war, made no attempt to hold back her ally" (p. 103). The wisdom of British policy is now and again questioned, Lord Asquith is chided for his treatment of Continental politics, and of Lord Grey it is said that "he has different weights and measures for the Central Powers and the Triple Entente" (p. 180). But Dr. Gooch agrees that Britain had no course but to enter the war (p. 211). In general, he maintains the position assumed some years ago: "the conduct of each of the belligerents . . . was in every case what might have been expected" (p. 206). Finally, he declines to "attribute exceptional wickedness to the Governments who, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, stumbled and staggered into the war" (p. 213); they were the victims of "the international anarchy which they inherited and which they did little to abate" (p. 214).

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*The American People, a History.* By THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER, Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1926. Pp. x, 486. \$5.00.)

DURING the past few years there has been a distinct trend in American historiography toward a revival of one-volume histories of the United States. The impulse to this has been in a large degree the prospect of adoptions for use in college classes, for adoptions seem to be a sure guaranty of royalties. Hence the one-volume history usually bears the earmarks of the text-book, as paragraph headings, references for further reading, and a multitude of details about many things—for must not the author write a few words about everything that has happened in order to appeal to a wide clientele? Must he not make the mastery of his volume easy by guide-posts erected here and there? Must he not also point the way to more pretentious works?

In stark contrast is Professor Wertenbaker's volume. It has none of these academic earmarks; neither paragraph guides, multiplicity of detail, nor bibliographies. Apparently the author is not bound by pedantic tradition; rather his aim is to give the layman, "the man in the street", a short, concise, and definite view of the antecedents and development of the American nation. He takes his cue from Wells and Van Loon, rather than from his fellow teachers or the professional historians. How shall the success of this venture be judged? Simply by those standards which are the criteria of every other book; perspective, the selection of materials, and literary quality.

Marked success has been achieved in all these respects. The allotment of space is suggestive. Of the 471 pages of text only 49 (a little over ten per cent.) are given to the colonial era; 105 (about twenty-two per cent.) to the years since the close of the Civil War, thus leaving 315 pages (about sixty-seven per cent.) to the period 1860-1865. Such a perspective means that the author is at heart a conservative; not the beginning nor the end of the story is the vital element, but the formative years from the opening of the revolutionary controversy to the triumph of the Union. Therefore, quite naturally, he is not an apologist for any of the recent interpretations of history; he clings close to the great currents of political development, yet he does realize that economic and social factors influenced politics.

Adequately to select facts and indicate their significance, especially in less than five hundred pages, is a task that challenges ingenuity; but it has been admirably performed. No one can lay down the volume, for instance, without a definite impression that the colonies were a part of the British Empire subordinated in their economic life to the interests of the mother country, yet enjoying a large degree of political autonomy. Again, there can hardly be found a more compact or clearer presentation of the

labors of the Philadelphia Convention (chapter VIII.), of the changes in New England after 1815 (chapter XIII.), or of early Western society (chapter XIV.). A singular omission is the lack of any description of the revolution in the production of cotton and the resulting effects on Southern society. Is this because the Old South became identified with a "Lost Cause"? Some readers will doubtless feel that the years since 1865 are not comprehensively treated; but on second thought chapters on Southern Reconstruction, the Changing Order, a Nation moving West, Dominion over Palm and Pine, the New Freedom, the European Maelstrom, and Problems Solved and Unsolved do indicate the broad lines of development during the past two generations.

Now as to literary characteristics. How is the lay mind of "the man in the street" to be led to realize the fundamental currents in the life of the nation of which he is a member? Professor Wertenbaker's method is unique. It consists in the use of a style modelled on the spoken rather than on the written word; each page suggests the conversational rather than formal literary English. Indeed from cover to cover the book smacks of the heart-to-heart talk, the author often falling into the rôle of raconteur; but always there is dignity, and each anecdote has a point; something tangible is achieved in each chapter. There are many quotations, not from documents written in archaic language but from diaries, autobiographies, letters, and speeches; indeed the successful interweaving into the text of extracts from Congressional speeches is a distinctive feature of the book. The human side of history is thus ever before the reader, rather than constitutional development (not one of Marshall's great decisions is cited) or the imponderables of sectionalism, or political and social *isms*. Throughout the appeal is to intelligence rather than to patriotic pride. On the whole the volume deserves a place on our shelves beside *The Outline of History* and *The Story of Mankind*.

WILLIAM K. BOYD.

*A British Fusilier in Revolutionary Boston, being the Diary of Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie, Adjutant of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, January 5—April 30, 1775, with a Letter describing the Voyage to America.* Edited by ALLEN FRENCH. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1926. Pp. xi, 83. \$3.50.)

A FRAGMENT of Lieutenant Mackenzie's diary, namely, a part of the entry for April 19, 1775, was printed in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for March, 1890, and has been used freely by historians of the Battle of Lexington for a generation past. Impressed by the value of the narrative, Mr. Allen French, after completing his *Day of Concord and Lexington* (1924), set out to find the rest of the diary, and was fortunate enough, on a visit to England, to get into communication with the great-grandson of the author, who put what remains of the diary at his disposal. Of the original manuscript, which covered the years 1748 to 1791, nothing previous to January 5, 1775 (except a



letter of June 29, 1773, describing the lieutenant's voyage from Plymouth to New York), has been preserved; and after April 30, 1775, there is a hiatus until the midsummer of 1776. Pasted in the diary is a pen-and-ink map of the "Position at Concord, 19th Ap. '75", annotated in the same handwriting as the diary—the only contemporary map of the action of the Nineteenth of April, 1775, in existence.

Lieutenant Mackenzie's diary supplements and corrects our knowledge of the events of the early spring of 1775 in and about Boston in several particulars. The author was present, for example, at the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the Boston Massacre, when Dr. Joseph Warren delivered the oration in the Old South Meeting House. He notes (p. 37), contrary to the popular tradition, that the oration, "tho severe on the conduct of the Military", "contained nothing so violent as was expected", and that it "was delivered without any other interruption than a few hisses from some of the Officers". There is nothing about Warren's having to enter the building by a window: "About 11 o'Clock Doctor Joseph Warren, an Apothecary of Boston came in, and ascended the Pulpit." The diary throws a good deal of light on the condition of mind of the people of the country around Boston. As early as January 30 Lieutenant Mackenzie notes that "the people are evidently making every preparation for resistance" (p. 31), and he tells of a court martial, the first of February, "for the trial of some Soldiers for selling firelocks . . . to the Country people" (p. 32). Gage was trying to accustom the country folk to the sight of the British troops by sending detachments in various directions with the apparently innocent purpose of exercise. But as these expeditions became more frequent they roused the apprehension of the farmers that Gage was planning "some design". "8th Feb. The 23d Regiment marched into the Country this day towards Watertown. The Country people seem extremely jealous of these movements" (p. 33). On Lord Percy's march to Lexington to relieve Colonel Smith's column returning from Concord the diary is full and accurate. Lieutenant Mackenzie himself marched with Percy's force as an officer of the Royal Welch Fusiliers.

Mr. French has made the valuable pages of the diary still more valuable by his discriminating foot-notes and comments. The gossip letter of 1773, with its comments on people and prices in New York, will interest the "social" historian as deeply as the diary interests the military historian.

D. S. M.

*George Rogers Clark, his Life and Public Services.* By TEMPLE BODLEY. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1926. Pp. xix, 425. \$5.00.)

HERE is a title which arrests at once, because of a general interest in the name George Rogers Clark, especially during these days of celebration connected with the sesquicentennial of the American Revolution. One



finds promise, also, in the introduction that it is the result of "many years of painstaking search and study of the source materials of the history of our first great West".

Mr. Bodley has elected, in presenting the story of the campaigns conducted by Clark, to use the documents very generously. One hundred and thirteen of the first two hundred and fifty pages are quoted, largely from the *Illinois Historical Collections*, volume VIII., *George Rogers Clark Papers*. This method may be readily used in such chapters as the capture of Kaskaskia (VI.) and of Vincennes (XI.). Here contributions are taken chiefly from the *Mason Letter* and the *Memoir* to the extent of eight pages out of nine (pp. 60-68), nine out of ten (pp. 81-90), and thirty-one out of thirty-four pages (pp. 110-133). Since the volume is not intended "for critical readers only" and "others are likely to be fatigued and perhaps misled by lawless spelling, punctuation, and capitalizing", corrections of the documents in these respects are justified by the author.

The keynote to the volume and the special contribution, it is claimed, is to be found in the explanation of the "complex plot" of Wilkinson against Clark (appendix). In the body of the book it takes the form of chapter heads as, Wilkinson's Intrigues, Wilkinson's Plot, and Wilkinson's Victim. The attorney's brief, for such it appears to be, which is presented as evidence for the condemnation of Wilkinson, is a lengthy one and is well wrought out. If accepted as proof, the appellations forger and thief must be added to the list already hung round the neck of Wilkinson. "His plot was carried out almost entirely by elaborately fabricated writings—some of them anonymous, most of them forged—some sent to Congress and others to Governor Randolph. Nearly all were mere pretended *copies* of originals which never existed. . . . They were most ingeniously dove-tailed to supplement one another and were designed to alarm the governor and Congress with the fiction about Clark's gathering a great army to invade Louisiana . . . and finally the amazing success of his whole plot, make one of the most interesting and historically important chapters in that most critical period of American history" (p. 379).

The chief arguments presented for these conclusions may be summarized as follows. No original of the letter purporting to have been signed by Thomas Green addressed to the governor of Georgia (Dec. 3, 1786) can be found in the Georgia archives. "The answer, we may be sure, is that there never was an original" (p. 393). All the testimonials of importance sent by Wilkinson have disappeared from the Virginia archives, and it is assumed that on a visit to Richmond he "got them" (p. 395). Proof that the copy of the Green letter was a pure fabrication is adduced from the writing of Clark's name *Clarke* and *George R.* in all of the testimonials obtainable and the style of language used.

The urge is not great to break a lance on behalf of Wilkinson. But the author would not, of course, wish to have the evidence suppressed that the Draper Collection (53 J 58) contains the letter quoted and signed by

Thos. Green (pp. 391, 393). It is undoubtedly the original. In this document, Clark's name appears a number of times as *Clark*, Gen. G. R. C., and Gen. C., and not as quoted, *Clarke*, *General George R. Clarke*, and *General Clarke*. Moreover, among the names of the subscribers to a fund of thirty-eight pounds to send William Wells, bearer of the letter, to Augusta, is G. R. Clark, ten pounds. This letter, together with those to be found in the *American Historical Review* (XV. 76, 352, 353) would seem to indicate that Green was a capable writer of messages.

It is very evident that the author has in mind the presentation of Clark as a hero, at all times. There can be no doubt that the march over the flooded plains to Vincennes may be thought of as among the most venturesome in history. It may be conceded, also, that on many other occasions, such as in his methods of defense, in his conquest and conciliation of Indian foes, and in the assistance which he gave towards the establishment of the elements of civil government in the Illinois country, Clark manifested marked ability as a leader. But must the reader accept the view that any criticism of Clark and of his plans made by some of his contemporaries, "malignant and adroit" (p. 376), or by writers on the period, is wholly false?

It seems unfortunate that there are to be found so many slips in quotation and incorrect and misleading statements. In his letter to Gardoqui (Mar. 15, 1788), Clark wrote: "This and other circumstances of a like nature convince me that no property or person is safe under a government so weak and infirm as that of the United States", and not: "General Clark said (February, 1788) neither property nor character is safe in a government as unsettled as that of the United States." Oliver Pollock was imprisoned, but not on two occasions (pp. 231, 233). The statement that no contemporary evidence discloses that "General Clark was ever once intoxicated, either during or at any time before the Wabash Expedition" (p. 303), should, no doubt, be modified. In a paragraph of the same letter from which Mr. Bodley quotes, the writer says: "General Clark it was said had become intemperate." James Monroe who could not be accused of any prejudice against Clark wrote: "I must inform you . . . we have heard to yr. prejudice . . . that you drink to an excess" (Jan. 5, 1783). The criticism was not denied by Clark in his reply. He did not meet his fellow commissioners in New York (p. 265), for in his reply he states: "Had those dispatches reached me in time I should have obeyed the summons with pleasure" (Falls of the Ohio, Apr. 26, 1784).

Demand must surely be made for the evidence which warrants sketching the effects of the Northwest Ordinance as they appear in foot-note one on page 255. "Without even a day's notice to the owners of slaves . . . the Continental Congress by this overlauded 'Ordinance of 1787' immediately freed every slave within its bounds. It ruined many of the slave owners, disorganized the whole labor system of the territory, . . . turned loose the poor ignorant slaves—men, women and children—to beg, steal or starve!"

"Gayerre", and "Critical and Narrative History" appear many times in the notes. The discovery of Wilkinson's *Memorial* is not recent for it was edited by Professor W. R. Shepherd over twenty years ago (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, IX. 490-506).

J. A. JAMES.

*George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781-1784.* Edited by JAMES ALTON JAMES, Ph.D., LL.D., William Smith Mason Professor of American History, Northwestern University. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, volume XIX., Virginia Series, volume IV.] (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library. 1926. Pp. lxxv, 572.)

AGAIN the Illinois State Historical Library has put historians and the general public of the United States in its debt by the publication of a very timely and very useful collection of material upon the history of the Northwest. With Indiana preparing for a national memorial on the site of Fort Sackville at Vincennes, with Randolph and St. Clair counties in Illinois preparing for an exposition near the site of Kaskaskia, unfortunately engulfed in the Mississippi, and with Louisville proposing a memorial lighthouse, George Rogers Clark will be very much before the public in the next three years. It is comforting to know that additions to the available sources of historical information are taking their part in this general movement.

This volume of *George Rogers Clark Papers* follows the model of the first volume of the same title, edited by Professor James in 1912. It brings the collection into the year 1784. In form it is patterned after its predecessor, save that it lacks the convenient list of documents published in the other volume. Such a great mass of Clark material has come to light that the editor's task has been practically one of selection. His task has been made more difficult by calling the collection the *George Rogers Clark Papers*, and at the same time seeking to cover the whole Revolution in the West. Considerable prominence is given to Colonel William Crawford's disastrous expedition of 1782, with which Clark's connection was somewhat remote. On the other hand, many phases of the Revolution in the West are not represented at all. Documents of importance are printed, even though they have been previously published elsewhere. As is to be expected, the editor draws most heavily on the Draper Manuscripts in the Wisconsin State Historical Library and upon the Virginia State Archives. He does not seem to have used the collection of manuscripts in the Missouri Historical Society. Among the longer documents given are the muster-roll of the Illinois Regiment, the journal of the Western Commissioners, and various proceedings connected with the allotment and sale of land in the Illinois or Clark's Grant in southern Indiana. Though coming later than the period indicated by the title, the accounts involved in the settlement of Virginia's claims against the United

States for operations in the Northwest Territory are published as an appendix under date of May 15, 1788.

In his special introduction, *The Last Years of the Revolution West of the Mountains*, Professor James indicates that he does not accept Dr. Alvord's contention that at the end of the war "Virginia had really only weakened the hold of the mother country on a small corner of the disputed territory". He maintains that the campaign against the Shawnee made in 1782 was of decisive importance and that Fort Nelson was the key between the East and the Illinois country, dominating the Western trade, a menace against Detroit, and a great deterrent to the Indians: "These facts must have been patent to the negotiators of the peace terms and served, no doubt, to confirm Lord Shelburne in his decision to yield the Northwest to the United States."

While the volume does not contain many "finds" of first importance and will probably not lead to any great revision of historical opinion, it will be of very great convenience and value to all students interested in either George Rogers Clark or the Revolution in the West.

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN.

*A History of American Foreign Policy.* By JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ, Professor of American History and Creswell Lecturer on International Law in Johns Hopkins University. (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1927. Pp. xiv, 725. \$4.00.)

THE present work constitutes a comprehensive survey of the foreign relations of the United States from the beginning of the American Revolution down to the date of publication; and as its author has long been known as a careful and intelligent investigator, with a tendency to form views of his own and to express them with candor and independence, the reader will naturally find it to be a distinctive and stimulating contribution to the literature of the subject to which it relates.

In the United States there exists, especially on the Atlantic seaboard, a considerable number of persons, perhaps relatively larger than in any other country, who contemplate foreign policy as something to be cultivated for its own sake; as something distinct and perchance even divergent from domestic policy; as a system to be conducted, on preconceived and permanent lines, with little regard to changing national moods and shifting national interests. In reality, the supposition that, because certain nations have a foreign policy different from that of the United States, they pursue it in a spirit of conscious and deliberate detachment from national moods and national interests, has little support in human history; and in the present volume abundant proof will be found that the foreign policy of the United States, far from being an exception to the rule, has had the flavor of the native soil and has strikingly exemplified the course of national sentiments and national tendencies.

At the very outset the learned author points out, not only that the keynote of the great experiment inaugurated by the American Revolution was

sounded in the Jeffersonian phrase that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed", but also that this declaration was a challenge to substantially all governments then existing. The attempt practically to enforce the principle of the "consent of the governed" was but the assertion by arms of the right of revolution; and the success of the effort, while it resulted in the establishment of a new government the existence of which the world could not ignore, by no means did away with the challenge. The foreign policy of the United States, as formulated by Washington and his first Secretary of State, Jefferson, and developed by their successors, with its doctrine of non-intervention and the correlative rule of neutrality, the principle of the freedom of the seas, the recognition of governments simply on the strength of their existence in point of fact, and the contest with the colonial system and its commercial restrictions, followed naturally and inevitably, just as, from the enunciation of the right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, there eventually resulted the doctrine of voluntary expatriation.

An excellent account is given by the author of the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas, and of the subsequent territorial expansion of the United States; and the same thing may be said of his exposition of the Monroe Doctrine and its successive and widening developments. Only when he undertakes to interpret President Wilson's proposal that all nations "should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world" does he appear to find the task of definition somewhat baffling. The interpretation he hazards is that the "Monroe Doctrine, stripped of its imperialistic tendencies, was to be internationalized, and the American policy of isolation, in the sense of avoiding secret alliances, was to become a fundamental principle of the new international order". President Wilson, however, spoke not of "secret" alliances but of "entangling" alliances, and declared that there could be "no entangling alliance in a concert of power". To the nations of Europe this deft assurance would have brought glad tidings of great joy, had their long practical experience in honestly endeavoring to maintain, in name and in fact, a "concert" of power, been undisturbed by clashes of interest and armed conflicts. The learned author speaks (p. 618) of President Wilson as holding in December, 1918, "the moral leadership of the world", and there are other passages which strongly imply that the United States might, but for obstructionists at home, still perform that beneficent function. But, unfortunately, the indisposition to concede moral superiority to others is no less general than the disposition to claim it for one's self; and, so far as concerns the United States, the utterances of the foreign press are not at the moment encouraging.

While I have commended as a whole the author's account of the Monroe Doctrine, I can by no means concur in his virtual acceptance of Thayer's version of the episode of the blockade of Venezuelan ports by the combined forces of Germany, Great Britain, and Italy, a version in which,

as I did not fail to point out at the time, emotional surmises and interested personal assertions and afterthoughts were permitted to displace the unimpeachable evidence of the authentic contemporaneous official record of what actually took place. In his account of the Panama affair, the learned author of the present work properly rejects this method of proof. In reality the blockading powers justified their action not on the fact that President Castro had refused to recognize the validity of their claims but on the fact that he had refused to arbitrate them. The author is quite correct in saying that the subsequent decision of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague in favor of the preferential claim of the blockading powers "was received with no small degree of criticism", but the Court, unlike its critics, was obliged to base its decision upon the facts and the law as it found them.

Towards the end of his work the learned author in due course treats of two pending controversial questions—that of the inter-allied debts and that of the recognition of the present Russian government; and, as might have been expected, he does not accept the view that the fact that his government has taken in regard to each of them a certain attitude, has placed them beyond the range of free public discussion. With regard to the debts, he believes that the present agreements have not disposed of the "real problem", and that the settlements so far made are likely to undergo radical revision; while, with regard to Russia, he holds that the refusal of recognition, after all the other nations engaged in the war have accorded it, lends color to the charge of the radicals "that ours has become the most conservative and reactionary government on earth". For these conclusions he gives his reasons.

J. B. MOORE.

*Foreign Policies of the United States: their Bases and Development.*

By JAMES QUAYLE DEALEY. (Boston and New York: Ginn and Company. 1926. Pp. viii, 402. \$2.80.)

THIS is a well-conceived, carefully written, and thoughtful book, the outcome of its author's interest in world affairs. From start to finish it bears evidence of wide reading and good judgment in the use of scattered materials. Professor Dealey's experience as a teacher and lecturer on the theme has done much toward giving the book its form. It should be useful in college classes. However it is more than a text-book. The author's philosophic attitude should interest mature readers desirous of obtaining clearer views of the series of problems which from Revolutionary days to 1926 have affected our foreign policies. Over this period Professor Dealey has touched history in many places, usually with a very sure hand. He seldom enters into much incidental detail. Occasionally, especially with reference to problems associated with the Pacific and the Far East, he inclines to be prophetic. The main objects of the narrative are two: to interpret (part I., pp. 3-130) the bases and agencies of our foreign policy, and then at somewhat greater length (part II., pp.



131-371) to state the factors and to explain the processes by means of which our policies have been developed.

At the outset attention is given to such fundamental matters as geographic and climatic conditions, natural resources, political and social ideals. An early chapter (VI.) is devoted to a presentation of such government agencies as are most closely involved in the study and formulation of policies—the President, the Secretary of State, the Senate in its treaty-making function, the diplomatic and consular services. A notably significant chapter (VII.) is concerned with the subject of sea-power and the navy as factors in diplomacy. But part II. reveals the very heart of the book. Here, opening the narrative with a cursory outline of national policies (1776-1925), the author is able at once to follow this outline up with a series of separate chapters on policies as they appeared, were modified, or developed from the days of the Revolution onwards. With rather notable skill he thus clears the way for the special consideration of such themes as the Monroe Doctrine, the Pan-American movement, the Caribbean situation with somewhat special reference after 1903 to the Panama Canal, and our attitude in its changing aspects toward Canada. A good deal of attention is given to our relations from time to time with various countries of Western Europe. But the narrative on Far Eastern affairs—our relations and policies toward Siam, China, Japan, and certain island areas in the Pacific—is remarkably vigorous. There is an excellent, if concise, account of the Washington Conference on the limitation of armaments (1921-1922), with adequate reflections on the more immediate results. Professor Dealey is keenly aware of the profound effects at work since the Great War which in more or less definable ways are modifying old ideals and inclining us slowly toward new points of view.

Diplomatic history in any detailed way has not enlisted much of Professor Dealey's attention. He is mainly concerned with outstanding generalizations to be drawn from its complications. The author's admiration for a few large figures in our history is easy to detect. He is not, however, inclined to dwell upon them as personalities—it is enough for his purpose to reveal to the reader an understanding and some appreciation of their work. There are occasionally questionable statements, chiefly of fact. To say, for example, that Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was "issued against the unanimous advice of his cabinet" (p. 85) would be difficult to prove. Townsend Harris was appointed as consul to Japan on August 4, 1855; he sailed for his post from New York City on October 17 following (p. 267). It is true that President Harding gave notice of a conference on the limitation of armaments as early as July 10, 1921 (p. 288). But invitations were formally issued to five powers on August 11. Later, as an afterthought, three other countries with interests in the Pacific were invited—the Netherlands, Belgium, and Portugal—on October 4. Four very useful maps scattered through the volume should have been noted in connection with the table of contents.



The lists of books and periodicals (pp. 373-381) have been chosen with real discrimination. Such slight errors or defects as have been noticed are almost negligible. The book impresses one as not only informing but sound.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

*Main Currents in the History of American Journalism.* By WILLARD GROSVENOR BLEYER, Ph.D., Professor of Journalism in the University of Wisconsin. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1927. Pp. x, 464. \$4.00.)

AMERICAN journalism has been a subject so singularly neglected by historians that Mr. Bleyer's book is doubly welcome. Since Frederic Hudson's massive, ill-shapen, and inaccurate volume in the 'seventies, only two attempts have been made—James Melvin Lee's and George Henry Payne's—to survey the whole newspaper field, and Mr. Payne's volume is brief and sketchy. In the magazine field we have only Algernon Tassin's even briefer and somewhat capricious work. Mr. Bleyer owes a good deal to his predecessors, and particularly to Mr. Lee; but he breaks much new ground, and his book can unhesitatingly be pronounced the best yet written on the subject.

Its distinctive character rises from its emphasis on a select list of outstanding journals and editors. The historian of journalism must at the outset decide whether he will deal with the oppressively long array of newspapers which possess some significance, or concentrate his attention upon the much shorter roster of men who have been blazing luminaries in our newspaper firmament. Mr. Lee chose the former course; in his volume even insignificant journals find mention. Mr. Bleyer chooses rather to interpret journalism through its eminent personalities. Necessarily his earlier chapters, before such personalities arose, are a survey of many tendencies, organs, and schemes. His opening pages offer a brief sketch of English journalism from the first corantos to Steele's *Tatler* and Defoe's *Daily Post*. This is followed by chapters on the colonial press, the Revolutionary press, and the political press up to 1830. But with the advent of the first James Gordon Bennett, Mr. Bleyer switches to the story of journalism as pre-eminently the story of nine or ten leading men.

This method secures the advantages of vividness, human interest, and emphasis upon editorial influence, while it simplifies the narrative; it has the disadvantage of leaving many gaping lacunae. Mr. Bleyer selects nine men—the elder Bennett, Horace Greeley, Henry J. Raymond, Samuel Bowles, E. L. Godkin, Charles A. Dana, William Rockhill Nelson, Joseph Pulitzer, and William Randolph Hearst. These are, with one or two exceptions, the really imperative choices. In treating even Bennett and Greeley the author goes to the sources—that is, to the files of the *Herald* and the *Tribune*—and presents unhackneyed material, though there is nothing in the least new or unconventional in his conception of either

man. When he comes to the figures less well known, notably Nelson, Pulitzer, and Mr. Hearst, Mr. Bleyer makes a much more important contribution to knowledge. No such history of the rise of yellow journalism in the 'eighties and 'nineties as he gives us has before been attempted. It is lucid, well documented, and illuminating.

But the inevitable defect of a book built upon this plan is its glaring gaps. Nine men and their immediate satellites do not represent even the main elements of American journalism from 1830 to 1920. It is unfair to give twenty-three pages to Henry J. Raymond, one page to William Cullen Bryant (equally great as an editor), a mere mention to Henry Watterson, and not even a mention to Henry W. Grady or Joseph Medill. It is misleading to include seven New York editors, and not one Chicagoan. The *Chicago Tribune* has had a history of great importance, but it is brushed aside with a few passing references. So eminent a figure as Harvey W. Scott does not appear in the index. There are, moreover, omissions of another sort. No book has yet appeared which gives us a real history of the development of the several component features of the typical city newspaper. When did the financial page take on authority and how did it grow? Was any literary editorship of importance before Margaret Fuller joined Greeley's *Tribune*, and what were the stages in the evolution of literary departments? What of sports? What was the real influence of advertisements upon newspaper history? Mr. Bleyer has no more answered these questions than did his predecessors.

Despite its shortcomings, Mr. Bleyer's book is much the best that has yet appeared, and will prove of great value to general readers and students as well as to specialists in journalism. Most of the shortcomings would disappear if he would but add one hundred or one hundred and fifty pages to his treatise. It is to be hoped that in some subsequent edition he will do this. A few careless statements are to be found in the book. It is not quite true that under Dana "the *Sun* fought Tammany and its misrule". It is not quite accurate to say that Pulitzer's retirement from active control of the *World* "did not vitally affect its policies or general character". But in matters of detail the volume meets a high standard of scholarship. Its only real fault is that it is too short.

*The Prairie and the Making of Middle America: Four Centuries of Description.* By DOROTHY ANNE DONDORE, Ph.D. (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press. 1926. Pp. xiii, 472. \$4.50.)

THE recent adventures in the interpretation of the Middle West by the literary critics suggest that new reserves have come forward to the assistance of the historians who have hitherto held the line alone. Professor Dondore makes a beginning now in a monumental task that she has set for herself—"a series of detailed studies dealing with different phases of the frontier—the Forest, the Prairie, the Plains, the Moun-

tains, and the Sea". Her effort in this initial study is devoted to the prairie in its largest sense; and since the prairie and its region carried the actual frontier through the formative period of the last century, the rest of her series is likely to stand or fall with this. Her efforts are paralleled in some degree by those of Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (1925), and Hazard, *The Frontier in American Literature* (1927). Together these scholars are making the most extensive and meticulous survey of the literature of the frontier that has been attempted; and they are bringing into their foot-notes and bibliographies the whole *corpus* of literary sources for the study of this aspect of American history.

The materials that these literary historians use comprise two general classes: the descriptive sources that are the ordinary raw stuff of the historian, and the works of imagination in which the element of the frontier is present either in subject matter or as influence upon composition. The former group does not yield much in literary values. Professor Dondore goes through such things as the *Jesuit Relations*, the pamphlets of the eighteenth century, the travel books, and the writings of men like Washington and Jefferson, and gives about half her space to a descriptive catalogue of the sources for the history of Middle America. She both indicates the content of the works, and discusses their implications. Every young student of the field ought to study her survey with care, and there are few veterans who will not find something in it of significance. In the latter half of her volume she covers the romantic treatments of the frontier, the Mississippi Valley realists, and the writers who have lived in the West. Here she ranges from J. Fenimore Cooper's *Prairie* and George Ade's *Fables in Slang* to the writings of Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, and Sinclair Lewis. She is not always convincing in the matter of her classifications. At times she seems to be searching for the element of frontier as frontier, in providing themes or shaping the minds of writers. At other moments the Middle West appears to be only a geographical division of the continent, and everything that has had one foot on the ground between the Rockies and the Appalachians is part of it. The search is to be commended; if the author is not finding conclusive results it is by no means certain that the fault is hers. It is a case where wisdom prompts the grub-staking of the prospector whether gold is found or not.

It was made apparent in the recent book of Professor Rusk that the American frontier before 1840 was not a place where the cultivated spirit was in full blossom. The interests of a frontier are shaped by a kind of necessity that leaves little time or strength for letters. So long as a region remains in this condition its retarded literary character must persist; and so soon as finished literary performance comes out of an old frontier area, this is of itself good evidence that the frontier is gone. The guide-books and descriptions of a frontier are hardly frontier literature; and literature in which the frontier is used only as a stage setting needs to be judged by standards other than those of the frontier spirit.

The search for the spirit of the American frontier is primarily historical, to be directed through the experiences and utterances of real people who are in the unconscious pursuit of their own business. Its reflection in literature is largely artificial. The results of such investigations as this of Professor Dondore are likely to continue to be negative, or only partly positive. But as the ground is cleared, and the literary monuments are classified, we can at least see more definitely the nature of the problem with which we are confronted.

In this collection, classification, and analysis, the services of the literary historians are most real.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

*The Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson.* By GEORGE EVERETT HASTINGS. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1926. Pp. xi, 517. \$4.00.)

THE American Ph.D. "dissertation" in Arts seems to be changing its nature. More and more the graduate schools are permitting prospective young doctors to concentrate upon practical tasks—the writing of biographies of men of recent date, and even the editing of American classics like Poe's *Politian*. Moreover the universities are issuing these theses, enriched and enlarged, in competition with the regular output of the publishing season. Most decidedly is the practice to be commended. These young critics approach always their problem without prejudice, they leave no stone unturned in their unjaded enthusiasm, and with the hand of experienced scholarship ever to direct them they do often definitive work.

Such a volume is Hastings's *Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson*, which first secured a Harvard Ph.D. for its author, and now, enlarged into a bulky volume and issued by the University of Chicago, takes its place among the leading biographies of the year. That it becomes the standard life of Hopkinson, one that will not for many years, if ever, be replaced goes without saying. In his search for all possible extant facts and papers and traditions the author has been tireless. One feels that he has found everything that really matters and has presented it in its proper place with due emphasis. As a repository of facts the book leaves nothing to be desired. Moreover, the work has been done with admirable detachment. It is as free from personal and family and sectional bias as if it were a cold study of a Roman senator. Not always is his subject illuminated with a rosy light. He can even say that up to the time of the Revolution Hopkinson's life had been largely given to the trivial, to dabbings in music, art, engraving, poetry, in none of which he took high rank: none of his verses "can claim any great merit as poetry". Up to the age of thirty he had lived upon his mother; "he had not entered into any material business". His visit to England and his attempt to live upon the patronage of his relative the Bishop of Worcester is certainly not an episode to be placed to his credit. It gained

him nothing substantial, however, and he went home and for a time was forced actually to go to work, with no great success it must be recorded. It is even implied that had the Revolution not come as it did Hopkinson might never have achieved anything beyond local prominence.

Being born at precisely the right moment gave him several unique distinctions: like the Adams family he heads many memorable lists, though not because of alphabetical primacy. He was the first matriculant of the University of Pennsylvania; he was the first American composer and wrote the first American song; he designed several of the governmental and state seals; he designed the American flag—the author after careful study of all the evidence is assured of this fact; he signed the Declaration of Independence; and by being present at precisely the right moment he wrote the most famous ballad of the Revolution—a piece of sheer doggerel, yet the most frequently printed piece of American verse written before 1800. His services as chairman of the Navy Board during the war, and his work as treasurer of loans and judge of admiralty are given their full value by the biographer. It is the work of this critical period that gives him his distinctive place in American history.

After 450 pages the author observes that he has up to that point endeavored “to construct from letters, newspapers, and other documents a chronological record of what Hopkinson did during his lifetime”, and he then adds “the rest of this chapter will employ the same method in seeking to determine a little more specifically what manner of man he was”. This latter task, however, he does not accomplish. Hopkinson throughout the book is a shadowy figure, a mere abstraction. At no point does he seem to come to life. We do not *see* him, we do not *feel* him; should we meet him tomorrow on the street we should not, so far as this volume’s information goes, recognize him. From the factual side the biography is definitive; but there still remains the task of making Hopkinson a personality that is alive. Perhaps this is asking too much of the biographer. Perhaps this is the work of the novelist, who is permitted to spread his tints with imagination.

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

*William Henry Harrison, a Political Biography.* By DOROTHY BURNE GOEBEL, Ph.D. [Indiana Historical Collections, vol. XIV.] (Indianapolis: Historical Bureau of the Indiana Library and Historical Department. 1926. Pp. xi, 456. \$1.50.)

THIS life of Harrison is confined chiefly to his political career. It brings out, however, the ancestral background of the Harrison family in Virginia, and tells fully of the work of Harrison in Western warfare and Western politics during his governorship of Indiana Territory. A separate chapter is devoted to Harrison’s superintendency of Indian affairs in the Northwest, and a good account is given of his military campaigns during the War of 1812, eventuating in the Battle of the Thames and the death of Tecumseh. These important aspects of our national history are brought into clear review.

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According to Mrs. Goebel the battle of Tippecanoe accomplished but little, when the purpose of Harrison's expedition is considered. Fort Harrison, near Terre Haute, was established and the Prophet's Town had been destroyed, but the frontier was not made safe and the immediate dangers to the settlers were increased. There is no clear recognition that Tippecanoe had broken the Indian power, though the beginning of that outcome is incidentally mentioned.

Mrs. Goebel brings out that these Indian wars and disturbances came about, not so much from British instigation, as Harrison charged, as from the treatment of the Indians by the American frontiersmen, though anti-American antagonisms may have been hastened by generous British gifts from Canada, after the War of 1812 had begun. The twin brothers, Tecumseh and the Prophet, had reason for their hostility toward the men of the frontier. Their father had been killed in battle with the whites. The little Pawnee boy, Tecumseh, had watched from afar the desolation of his childhood home by the forces of George Rogers Clark, and hatred for Americans had been implanted in his heart. The author tells of the charges brought against Harrison to the effect that he had cheated the Indians out of their lands, thus arousing their ill-will and causing unnecessary war. In Harrison's suit for slander, brought on account of these charges, he was represented by his political opponents, among whom was Jonathan Jennings, the first governor of Indiana, as having been cleared by what was obviously a partizan trial before a friendly judge.

Harrison resigned from the army in 1814 and was elected to Congress in 1816. The farm life at North Bend, on the Ohio near Cincinnati, is described, with its Virginia hospitality. One wing of the farm mansion at North Bend had been originally a log cabin, and though Harrison had never lived in it in its humble beginnings, this was the basis and the only basis for the "log-cabin candidate". The scion of Virginia aristocracy, the refined master of "Berkeley" in Virginia, and of "Grouseland", the executive mansion in Vincennes, who lived in comfort if not in luxury in the North Bend palatial homestead, was transformed, by the "game of politics", into the "log-cabin candidate of the common people", an incident quite unique in our political history.

A chapter is given to Harrison's legislative career, in Congress and in the Ohio senate, and another chapter to the rather unknown phase of his career, his legation to Colombia. Harrison was repeatedly an unsuccessful candidate for office, for the secretaryship of war, the mission to Russia, the vice-presidency. The interest of the entire volume centres in the later years of Harrison's life, especially in his candidacy for the presidency in 1836 and 1840. The lay reader as well as the specialist will find interest in the account of the famous "log-cabin and hard cider campaign". Mrs. Goebel goes into the letters and the documents of the contest. She relies on the sources, which are well presented, and they bring out the story. Harrison is represented as a politician—not in an



opprobrious sense—but as “willing as Barkis” to be nominated, and ready to do his part in maintaining the fiction that he was yielding reluctantly to the summons of the “clarion voice of the people” to leave his peaceful fireside for arduous public duties.

The volume brings out the liveliness of the Tippecanoe campaign, with its claptrap, hullabaloo, and rollicking song. All kinds of charges were brought against Harrison: he was only a puppet in the hands of the Whig committee; while he was a member of the Ohio senate he had favored selling white men into slavery to work out their fines; he was an abolitionist; he was on both sides of the slavery question; he was only an Indian fighter and a “clodhopper” altogether unfit for the presidency. Harrison was shrewd enough to avoid answering embarrassing questions and to avoid being too specific in stating his political principles; he preferred to indulge in reminiscences of the War of 1812, “dropping a tear over the dead soldiers’ graves”.

Harrison made known his political principles and policies in his inaugural address, which dealt chiefly with the privileges and duties of the executive office. He declared for a single term only; he would curb executive power, and use the veto only to protect the Constitution. He deplored office-seeking and the love of power, “a vicious danger to the Republic”. The officer, by a short term, should be reminded that he “is the agent not the principal of his country”; and he gave a positive utterance against the anti-slavery agitation as “an interference with the domestic institutions of the States”.

The author’s characterization of Harrison seems judicial and fair: not a statesman, but a public man of fair abilities and talent, generous, free in manner, cheerful, courteous, brave, a lovable personality, with a happy faculty for friendship, he sought public office and in office did his best. In these pages Harrison is shown to have been interested in education and in the humanities. He gave donations to the Vincennes Library, was an early trustee of Vincennes University and the Cincinnati Medical College, and contributed a study to the Archaeological Society of Ohio on “The Aborigines of the Ohio Valley”.

The volume is both scholarly and readable and is distinctly a credit to its author. It deals, in the main, with subjects of historical interest and importance, and every chapter shows evidence of painstaking research. It has numerous illustrations—portraits of Harrison, pictures of his homes, political cartoons—a good index, and a bibliography of thirty-five pages which may fairly be said to be exhaustive. Students of William Henry Harrison will long have reason to thank Mrs. Goebel for her work.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.



*Correspondence of Andrew Jackson.* Edited by JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Ph.D., Professor of American History on the Sydenham Clark Parsons Foundation, Smith College. Volume II. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1927. Pp. xxx, 449. Unbound, \$3.50; bound, \$4.50.)

THE first volume of Professor Bassett's *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* extended to the spring of 1814 and thus covered forty-seven years of Jackson's life. In the second are included the letters of a little less than six years—to the end of December, 1819. At the beginning of this period Jackson was made a major-general in the regular army instead of the militia, and was placed in command of the Seventh Military District. Approximately half of the volume is taken up with the papers of the years 1814–1815, presenting for the first time a really full documentation for the account of the military activities of Jackson in defense of the Southwest, of which the battle of New Orleans was the culmination. Throughout most of the period which is covered by the papers in the latter half of the volume Jackson was at his home near Nashville, though there were journeyings to Washington, to the southern frontier, to Indian agencies nearby, and, in 1818, the Seminole expedition into Florida. The volume closes with a suggestion from the War Department, in 1819, for an attack on Florida.

While military matters largely predominate, the papers of the correspondence contain much of interest in regard to politics, such as the letters exchanged between Jackson and Monroe with regard to the evil of parties in American government, and the various suggestions which began, in 1815, to be made with reference to Jackson's possible candidacy for the presidency. To the reviewer's mind the most important contribution to the history, other than military, of the period, to be derived from the papers here collected, lies in the field of Indian affairs. In this aspect Jackson is revealed as more thoughtful than many have been inclined to consider him. Though the prejudices derived from his early environment and contact with the Indians are apparent, he was rather sympathetic with the Indians themselves and severely critical of the half-breeds and "quarter-noon whitemen" who, in some cases, had displaced the older chiefs and were exploiting the tribal annuities to the detriment of the tribes. He had come to see the absurdity of negotiating with the Indians by treaty, and argued that it was time to subject the Indians to the laws of the United States. While he undoubtedly shared in the hunger for the Indian lands, his wish to dispossess the tribes was governed by larger considerations of politics—those of military defense and of social unity through connecting the white settlements and eliminating the Indian barriers. It is interesting, also, in the light of his later history, to find Jackson on the point of a clash with a governor of Georgia over a matter of Indian relations.

In Professor Bassett's editorial preface perhaps the most interesting comment is that which has to do with the famous "Rhea letter", over

which dispute waxed so warm in 1830. In his *Life of Andrew Jackson* Professor Bassett offered tentatively, as an alternative to the conclusion that either Monroe or Jackson departed from strict veracity, the suggestion that approval of Jackson, expressed by Monroe after the settlement of a dispute between Jackson and the War Department over the relative authority of Jackson and of the Secretary of War to issue orders to Jackson's subordinates, was mistakenly interpreted by Jackson as approval of the latter's proposal to invade Florida. In this volume of the correspondence is included a letter from Rhea to Jackson, dated January 12, 1818, from the Dyas Collection in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society, which was not available to Professor Bassett when he wrote the *Life*, and which, he thinks, goes to support the conjecture which he made in the earlier work.

Besides the principal body of Jackson Papers in the Library of Congress, Professor Bassett has drawn upon the files of the War Department, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, the Monroe manuscripts in the New York Public Library, and the Dyas Collection in the Tennessee Historical Society; and has winged an occasional letter in its flight through the dealers' sales. There is no hint as to the extent of the material not selected for printing. If it is intended to make complete the "List of Letters and Papers of Jackson . . . printed elsewhere than in this volume", there should be added three letters of Jackson to General James Winchester, which are to be found in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for September, 1915.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

*The United States and Mexico.* By J. FRED RIPPY, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, University of Chicago. (New York: A. A. Knopf. 1926. Pp. xi, 401. \$5.00.)

THIS timely volume presents the first comprehensive general survey of American diplomatic relations with Mexico—or, more accurately, relations since 1848. It devotes one brief chapter (14 pp.) to earlier relations (to 1848); one to the Yucatan question of 1848 and the various forces and factors which influenced the doctrine of manifest destiny and formed the background of the American Mexican policy in the decade before 1861; five to the various complaints, grievances, and disputes from 1848 to 1853 closing with the Gadsden Treaty; one to the spirited struggle for ratification of the Gadsden Treaty; three to the filibustering raids, other frontier difficulties, claims and "the shadow of Europe" forming the background of the negotiations of the Buchanan administration; one to the "manifest destiny" policy of this administration; two to the Civil War period (Confederate projects and Seward's policy); five to the period from 1868 to 1910; two to an interpretation of the period since 1910; and one to a brief concluding survey.

The reader's expectations are disappointed by the brief treatment of the period prior to 1848, which, however, has already been well covered

by previous volumes resulting from the original investigations of W. R. Manning, G. L. Rives, J. H. Smith, and J. S. Reeves.

Except for this period and for the administrations of Buchanan and Lincoln and Johnson and the period subsequent to 1910 the author has broken virgin soil. His chief contribution is to the period 1848-1853 (the background of the Gadsden Treaty) in which he has done the larger part of his original researches begun at the University of California under the encouragement of Dr. H. E. Bolton and before the appearance of Paul Garber's volume on the Gadsden Purchase.

One of the most interesting chapters in the book is that on the struggle for ratification of the Gadsden Treaty in 1854, showing that the Tehuantepec question (acceptance of the Sloo grant) rather than sectionalism seemed to be the decisive factor in the contest.

The chapters treating the period of the Mexican administration under Porfirio Diaz—under the headings, Dawn of a New Era, Border Irritations of 1877, the Crisis of 1877-1879, Pacific Penetration, and the Challenge of American Preponderance—are based largely on original research but are somewhat disappointing in the treatment of diplomatic relations. They present a satisfactory treatment of the peaceful penetration of Mexico by big business—the pacific economic penetration of American railway builders and mine operators, ranchmen and land speculators, and the later American oil speculators and capitalists, under the three decades of régime of Diaz, a penetration foreseen and planned by Seward and resulting in an American preponderance and domination which tremendously and advantageously influenced Mexican life but which also excited the suspicions and fears often expressed throughout the period and finally forming the chief bases of the charges under which Diaz was driven from power into exile.

In the two chapters presenting a brief personal interpretation of the period since 1910, following the overthrow of Diaz, the author discloses a decided sympathy with the policies of Wilson's administration, but admits that the historian must postpone judgment here, awaiting access to sources not yet available.

In the brief concluding survey of the fundamental factors and forces which have operated to determine the nature of Mexico-American relations the author includes geographic proximity, rich Mexican resources, Mexican disorders and resulting American claims for damages, American enterprises, and the attitude of the European nations which tended to invite and promote American aggressive actions, and he suggests the probable future effect of these forces. Significant is his assertion that "Perhaps a shorter boundary and one which would give greater relative isolation could be found further south along the Sierra Madre range, but Mexico would never submit to the ruinous detachment of the rich mining area; and moreover, in this mechanical age natural barriers cease to isolate". Although he avoids the speculations of a prophet he suggests that the American government may some time adopt a definite policy of

coercion to secure order, protection, and profitable opportunities for investment in Mexico.

The reader is often reminded that Mexican conditions and relations were in many respects typical of later conditions and relations of smaller states of the Caribbean area analogous to situations which determined the recent American Caribbean policy of protectorates. The wonder is that Mexico, whose domain has been reduced and whose autonomy has been threatened, has never formally lost its independence.

The foot-notes bear evidence of the industry and care required for collecting and for the verification of data upon which the volume is based. They indicate that the study of the periods 1848-1853 and 1876-1910, especially the former, are based on primary sources—contemporary press news and published official documents of the government—which in many instances have been checked with original manuscript sources in the Department of State or the Library of Congress and elsewhere. The volume is supplied with an extensive bibliography and an adequate index. It also has two simple outline maps which are not adequate. It should have been supplied with a good topographical map to illustrate the chapter on the Gadsden Treaty. It is practically free from typographical errors but an improperly punctuated sentence appears on page 6 and an improper tense form of the verb “arise” on page 144.

The book deserves a wide circulation. The simple, well-organized narrative is well designed to appeal to both university students and the general public.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

*The War Period of American Finance, 1908-1925.* By ALEXANDER D. NOYES. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1926. Pp. 459. \$2.50.)

In the two editions of his earlier work *Thirty Years* (and *Forty Years*) of *American Finance* Mr. Noyes has interpreted the course of our financial history from the close of the Civil War to 1908. In the present volume he analyzes the tremendous and complex financial operations of the World War, the economic changes which it produced, the manner in which we have adjusted our finances to peace conditions, and the changes which the war has wrought in our financial relations to the world at large.

The *Forty Years of American Finance* and the present volume together constitute a unique and extremely valuable study of the sixty years covering the most important period of our financial history. They are a study not by an economist who has selected the field for investigation but by a man well trained in economics who, as the financial editor of important papers, has been in daily touch, throughout the greater part of the period, with the events which he is describing and interpreting. It has the characteristics of the memoirs of a well trained and keen observer in the field of political history who, through participation in the events which he describes, has enjoyed exceptional opportunities for observation.

As might be expected from an author so equipped, Mr. Noyes is extremely successful in bringing out the relations between events in financial history and concurrent events in our economic and political history, thereby adding much to the interest and value of the work.

The central thought of the present volume is found in the statement in the first chapter that while most of the phenomena which accompanied and followed the World War differ only in magnitude from those of other wars, "the shifting of balance in the world's economic relations which followed 1914 was something new in history".

The way for this change was prepared in the United States by the "rule of reason" decision in the anti-trust cases of 1911, which re-established business confidence, the passage of the Federal Reserve Act in 1913, the existence, at the outbreak of the war, of the machinery for bank-note expansion under the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, and the decision in the early days of the war not to follow the example of Europe in suspending gold payments by declaring a moratorium, although, as Mr. Noyes points out, after we entered the war we practically suspended specie payments by placing an embargo on the export of gold. Space is lacking to follow Mr. Noyes's exposition in detail. It must suffice to say that it is clear, keen, comprehensive, interesting, and of lasting value. There is as yet no other work covering the field in so clear and comprehensive a manner.

There are of course judgments and interpretations which are open to question, *e.g.*, in connection with the question as to whether the rise of prices during the war and the years immediately following was due to inflation. On pages 230 ff. the author would seem to imply that while there was inflation in Europe because of the issue of notes to meet the deficits of governments, regardless of the requirements of trade, inflation was impossible in connection with our Federal Reserve notes. Since they "could not be issued except on application of private banks, their increase in 1917 and 1918 bore no resemblance in character to the war-time paper inflation of Europe". On pages 305-308, again, he points out that in 1919 the great increase in Federal Reserve notes followed and did not precede the demands of trade and the rise of prices. On page 308, however, he says, "But credit inflation was another matter". After describing the vast sums advanced by the banks, on government loans, to private individuals and to the government he points out that the banks borrowed from the Reserve Banks on these loans and that this was encouraged by the low interest rates maintained by the Federal Reserve Banks. "It thus resulted that the Reserve System was making credit artificially cheap at the very moment when its price ought to have risen in the face of the huge requisitions on the general fund by speculators" (p. 310).

In both Europe and the United States there was a great increase in the circulating medium in the form of bank-notes and bank credit due in both cases to borrowing by governments to cover their deficits. This increase caused (or at least sustained) a great rise of prices. Is there any essen-

tial difference between an expansion of the circulating medium initiated by an increase of bank-notes in response to needs of government, and giving rise to an increase of bank credit, and an expansion initiated by an increase of bank credit in response to the needs of government and giving rise to an increase of bank-notes? Do not both these varieties of expansion have the same relation to rising prices and are not both to be described as inflation?

There are a few minor errors and omissions of fact in the volume. The Federal Reserve Act did not provide for twelve banks but for not more than twelve nor less than eight (p. 49). Attention might well have been called to the changes made in the Aldrich-Vreeland Act in August, 1914, which greatly increased its efficiency (p. 80). It is an exaggeration to say that the "circulation privilege" floated most of the Civil War loans (p. 179). National bank circulation did not reach significant proportions until very near the end of the war. By using the figures for gross rather than net borrowings by the government in 1865 the percentage of war expenditures met from ordinary revenue in that year is understated (p. 198). Over forty per cent. of the gross borrowings were used to retire debt.

These are but minor flaws. Mr. Noyes has rendered a service of permanent value to both students and the general public.

HENRY B. GARDNER.

*Georgia and the Union in 1850.* By RICHARD HARRISON SHRYOCK.  
(Durham: Duke University Press. 1926. Pp. x, 406. \$4.00.)

THESE four hundred full pages are not confined to the commonwealth of Georgia, and the year 1850 is not reached until more than half the tale has been told. While Georgia is examined somewhat microscopically as to districts, parties, press, and personnel, and while the trends and events in local politics are elaborately traced from 1844 to 1852, developments are constantly kept in view concerning the two larger units, the South and the United States. The narrative, though sometimes intricate, is well woven; but the phrasing is clumsy in places, and the spelling of names is occasionally careless. Ocala is written for Ocala, for example, and Treascott for Trescott, and worse than these, Elberton is given instead of Eatonton (p. 375) as the place where J. A. Turner published his quarterly, *The Plantation*. These blemishes are offset by important contributions of material and interpretation. Among the notable discoveries are pamphlets by Thomas Ewbank, Sidney G. Fisher, and Ben E. Green (errors in two of these names as given in the bibliography), the *Plantation* above mentioned, and the *Debates* of the Georgia convention of 1850.

Professor Shryock illuminates the waverings of public men and political factions in their attitudes toward the Union by emphasizing the conservative disposition of the planters and their concern with slavery, not only as a property interest but as a safeguard of social security. A citizen



of the class, he says, would be disposed to cherish the Union as long as it bade fair to promote prosperous and orderly conditions.

The moment, however, that a planter was convinced that the various northern attacks on slavery would lead gradually but inevitably to abolition, he foresaw not only the sudden ruin of prosperity, but all the other social dangers that have been described. If this were the case, the very Union that had seemed a protection now appeared to him as a league with destruction. Hence it must be abandoned at once. . . . The "Union man" was usually just one step behind the secessionist, and that step was simply a matter of evidence and conviction (p. 50).

Professor Shryock argues tellingly that Georgia was never upon the brink of secession in the period of his concern, and that the "Georgia Platform" of 1850 was a product not of the Toombs-Stephens-Cobb campaign but of a steadily prevailing desire for intersectional peace through compromise. The debate, however, was earnest and far-reaching, to the effect that (pp. 291, 292) "The years 1850 and 1851, indeed, constituted a time of education during which the people of the South first went to school to study those problems which they later attempted to solve during the tragic period of 1860-1865."

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

*The People Next Door: an Interpretive History of Mexico and the Mexicans.* By GEORGE CREEL. (New York: John Day Company. 1926. Pp. xii, 418. \$4.00.)

THE mental attitude and fitness of the writer and his method of treatment are of more significance than possible error in the record of facts. Of Mr. Creel's thirty-five chapters interpretative of the life of the Mexican people, twelve are concerned with the Texas and the Mexican War episodes, and one with the Monroe Doctrine during the French Intervention. The final chapter, the Future and its Challenge, concerned with the problems and hazards confronting Calles, frankly avers that success obviously depends quite as much upon the United States as upon the Mexican president. The dedication of over one-third of the book to American relations leaves no space for valid interpretation of the three hundred years of Spanish colonial administration; not a single chapter is given to it, and references thereto in the narrative reiterate the hackneyed criticism of eighteenth-century English writers who labored the thesis that Spanish America was one uninterrupted sequence of mistakes of Providence, which Albion must correct.

The author is not the only North American incapable of thinking about Mexico save in terms of United States history. To such an extent does the position of dominance, the sensation of power versus weakness, affect our international vision. And while it is true that many educated Mexicans see their national life only as projected on the screen of relations with the United States, they are not likely to be flattered by an interpretative history of their country which (though it is the most recent full statement



in English) neglects much in the analysis of their more recent problems and plans of reconstruction. When foreign absorption monopolizes even the mental attitude of the popular writer of history, Mexican hunger for national entity must approach despair.

Much space is dedicated to showing that American historians have "lied" about the causes of the Mexican War. In past events, which Mr. Creel judges by the printed page, Americans really treated Mexico quite properly; in modern ones, within the author's experience, they are doing everything wrong and badly. Just what is to be gained, in a history of Mexico, by attempting to prove that the United States had the correct attitude, and that the war was brought on by Mexican politicians, it is hard to see, especially if one's major thesis is the development of international understanding and good-will. This especially from one whose business it was to direct war publicity upon a propaganda basis. We have rather run amuck of late in our preoccupation with the assessment of war guits in general. The subject has a certain validity for students who have access to valid authorities and the will and training to discriminate in their use, but in works of propaganda the shedding of innocent ink on this topic will not unfight any past wars or allay hankerings for new ones. There is another inconsequence too, in over-emphasizing the mistakes of policy of the United States for consumption in Spanish America; this in spite of the fact that Americans generally have yet much to learn about the inner motives which have influenced our history.

In the development of the thesis that we fought the Mexican War upon just provocation, the author draws his conclusions from Justin H. Smith's penetrating historical studies, but his methods (and many of his facts) are taken from a medley of journalists ranging from Gutiérrez de Lara on the extreme left to Francisco Bulnes on the extreme right; it is a pity that one who writes well and knows much about his subject should not have studied to make his work conform more closely to the established canons of historical writing. For instance, in support of statements concerning affairs of the past fifteen years, it would be useful to have more definite citation of documents than the assertion that they are in the archives of the Department of State.

The main thesis of the book, admirably stated in the foreword and concluding chapter, is that the "fortunes of the two countries are linked indissolubly" and that the United States and Mexico must work as co-operating friends; this will not happen until there "is an end to the ignorance that both peoples have been at such pains to cultivate". The only way up for Mexico is by self-development under unhampered Mexican leaders, who deserve American sympathy and intelligent understanding. The reviewer warmly applauds this sentiment and hopes the book will be widely read for its value in inculcating it.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

## MINOR NOTICES

*Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria: their Relations to Greece from the Earliest Times down to the Time of Philip Son of Amyntas.* By Stanley Casson, M.A. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xxi, 557, figures 106, maps 19.) This work will make an instant appeal to all who have even a passing interest in Macedon and her neighbors, especially to those desirous of knowing how excavations will answer the old question, who were the Macedonians. It fills a need, for much of the material here collected is widely scattered. The plentiful illustrations and maps add much to its usefulness. No phase of the subject is neglected. To the geographical introduction, based for the most part on autopsy, is added a discussion of the natural resources and the grouping of cities. A convenient, though uneven, appendix lists and evaluates the ancient sources. The bibliography is long, yet neither complete nor accurate. In addition, part I. contains chapters on the prehistoric periods, the kings and chieftains of Macedonia and Thrace, the Thracian Chersonese, and art. Part II. gives a brief account of Illyria.

Casson's main interest, it would seem, centres in the fusion of ancient tradition with archaeological discoveries: the Macedonians were a return wave of an iron-age invasion which passed hastily through Macedonia into Thessaly, and the return of a portion of the tribe to historical Macedonia corroborates the Temenid theory of Macedonian origins. The tribes which the returning Argeads subdued were Thracians, of a similar culture, closely akin to the bronze-age Phrygians, who between 2000 and 1200 had been filtering southward into the Balkans, while the main body passed into Asia Minor. The Phrygians are "equated with the North Aegean Bronze Age". In Macedonia they found an earlier neolithic culture, which was likewise of northern origin, and quite distinct from that which existed in Thrace and Thessaly. Gradually, however, this Serbo-Macedonian wedge of neolithic culture "merged into that of the Bronze Age, firstly of an Aegean and then of a northern type".

Since this is Casson's contribution to the Macedonian question, it may be unjust to call attention to inconsistencies and errors in the historical sections. I mention only two, the false picture of the wealth of western Chalcidice, given in map and text alike, and the three different and contradictory statements (within six pages) about the use of the Maronitan mint by the Odrysian Amatokos.

As for the prehistoric period, future excavations, possibly even those made since the book was written—so meagre are the existing data—may well produce evidence to disprove, or prove, Casson's theses. Nor will all archaeologists accept his interpretation of that which is available.

A. B. W.

*Choses et Gens de Byzance.* Par Charles Diehl, Professor à l'Université de Paris. (Paris, Boccard, 1926, pp. iv, 248.) In this convenient

little volume are collected six previously published, but scattered, essays on various phases of Byzantine archaeology, art, and history. The first, occupying nearly a half of the booklet, is a reprint of the author's pioneer article on the church and mosaics of the Monastery of St. Luke in Phocis.<sup>1</sup> Though that appeared nearly forty years ago, the author has reprinted it exactly, referring the interested reader to his *Manuel d'Art Byzantin* (revised, 1926) for more recent bibliographical information. The other five articles are brief, averaging about thirty pages in length and are unencumbered, or unadorned, with many foot-notes. In the second the author sets forth clearly, if briefly, his thesis that Byzantine architecture was indebted to the Orient, Iranian and Semitic, for important details.<sup>2</sup> The third article, entitled "La Dernière Renaissance de l'Art Byzantin", contains the author's extended criticism of Gabriel Millet's theory on this subject.<sup>3</sup> Incidentally it sets forth some of his own canons in judging the historic significance of art forms. The next two articles are historical, biographical studies of Justinian II.<sup>4</sup> and Irene Angelus,<sup>5</sup> two characters whom the novelists have overlooked. The disfigured ruler of the seventh century (*l'empereur au nez coupé*) appears in sober historical narrative as a monster of cruelty, while the thirteenth-century princess appears as a very pathetic figure, the innocent victim of a series of tragedies. If the narrative is confined rather closely to the central figures, this is a pardonable concession to the popular audience for whom these articles were written, and can easily be corrected in available references. The last article, "Byzance dans la Littérature",<sup>6</sup> also written for an unprofessional audience, contains a suggestive, if incomplete, list of modern literary efforts, prose, poetry, and drama, devoted to this region and period.

The author explains in his preface how he happened to bring these scattered and unconnected articles into one work. The collection of them in this convenient and accessible form is in itself a real service. All are concerned with the Byzantine Empire, and will be welcomed by those interested in the period.

A. C. KREY.

*The Growth of Europe through the Dark Ages, A. D. 401-1100: a Brief Narrative of Evolution from Tribal to National Status.* By General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. (London, H. F. and G. Witherby, 1927, pp. 357, 10 s. 6 d.) "Our instruction in Ancient History", says General Barrow, "has usually begun with the Bible and the campaigns of Alexander the Great, and ended with Julius Caesar, or at

<sup>1</sup> *L'Eglise et les Mosaïques du Couvent de Saint-Luc en Phocide* [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises de Rome et d'Athènes, fasc. 35] (Paris, 1889).

<sup>2</sup> *L'Amour de l'Art*, March, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal des Savants*, August, 1917.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue de Paris*, Jan. 1, 1923.

<sup>5</sup> *Dépêche d'Orient*, Jan. 1, 1912.

<sup>6</sup> *Vie des Peuples*, August, 1921.

latest, with Constantine the Great, while in Modern History it has been confined almost exclusively to England. Consequently there is a wide gap in our historical knowledge" of the intervening period. "That particular field of historical knowledge is practically untrodden." If English historical instruction is usually confined within the limits which he indicates there may be need of a manual of the sort which he provides, but for the United States it must be declared to be superfluous. Our manuals of medieval history do not neglect the so-called Dark Ages, and some of them treat that period in a manner which is both scholarly and interesting. It is to be feared that General Barrow's excellent intention, to show the political and cultural development of all Europe during these formative centuries, will not be found to have achieved its object in such a manner as to interest and impress the young mind. He is confessedly an amateur, who bases his text on Gibbon, Bury, Oman, Hodgkin, Bryce, Fletcher, and the *Britannica*, and he writes dryly, weighting down his narrative with too great a multitude of facts.

*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series, vol. IX. (London, the Society, 1926, pp. 229.) Professor Tout's presidential address, with which the volume opens, recounts portions of the history of the Society, founded in 1868. Another general paper is that by Professor F. M. Stenton on the Foundations of English History, advocating modern and better editions of many sources for the history of the period before the Conquest. Between the two come five monographs. In the first, scholarly and useful for comparative illustration of English practice, Miss M. V. Clarke treats of Irish Parliaments in the reign of Edward II. Miss Marian J. Tooley discusses the authorship of the *Defensor Pacis*, which she would divide between Marsilio of Padua and John of Jandun. Professor Caroline Skeel gives an account of the Cattle Trade between Wales and England from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, which is both an entertaining and a useful contribution to economic history. Sir Richard Lodge relates an episode in Anglo-Russian relations during the War of the Austrian Succession, namely, the difficulties in which Friedrich Lorentz, Hanoverian, assistant to Lord Hyndford, envoy to Berlin, involved himself and others by intervening in the struggle between Bestuzhev and Voronzov, Russian chancellor and vice-chancellor. Miss L. M. Penson describes the Making of British Guiana into a Crown Colony, tracing its history from the Dutch surrender in 1803 to the full establishment in 1833 of the crown colony system of government which prevailed from that time on.

*Camden Miscellany*. Vol. XIV. (London, Royal Historical Society, 1926, pp. 279.) The first place in this volume is occupied by Spanish narratives of the English attack on Santo Domingo in 1655, in translation, from the original documents in the Archivo General de Indias, by Miss Irene A. Wright, affording a vivid picture of the affair from the

side not hitherto presented in English, the chief piece being an excellent narrative by the Spanish captain Pallano. Next is presented, in Spanish and in English translation, by the Rev. H. J. Chaytor, from a manuscript in the Library of All Souls College, a treatise on the Spanish embassy and its practices, by a member of the staff of Don Pedro Ronquillo, ambassador in England from 1680 to 1691, a document valuable to the student of diplomatic practice. The volume also contains the will of Peter de Aqua-Blanca, bishop of Hereford, 1268, a body of documents concerning the ransom of King John of France, 1360-1370, and, from a Bodleian manuscript, a history of the Parliament of 1386, by Thomas Favent, clerk.

*Histoire de la Nation Française.* Dirigée par Gabriel Hanotaux. Tome II. *Géographie Humaine de la France.* Par Jean Brunhes, Professeur au Collège de France. Deuxième volume. *Géographie Politique et Géographie du Travail.* Par Jean Brunhes et Pierre Deffontaines. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1927, pp. 652, 65 fr.) Jean Brunhes is the ideal scientist in a work of this nature—a pioneer work, a work of immense erudition, yet written in a style so simple and so graceful that we seem to see Voltaire and Anatole France nodding their literary approval from some pleasant corner of the Elysian fields—for of course there can be no Elysian fields without good books and good people with whom to discuss them! And Jean Brunhes is a worthy compeer of him who wrote the *Histoire des Mœurs* and also of the master historian of Jeanne d'Arc. The history of France is here presented in a form so incontrovertible that no bigotry of theologian or politician can take offense and no mind however young or untrained can fail to absorb knowledge. Indeed, the work is encyclopaedic in that the history of the French people is illustrated by more than three hundred pictures, maps, diagrams, and plans—each one of which explains admirably some detail of historical importance in the field of commerce, transportation, handicraft, architecture, folklore, dress, fishing, agriculture, etc., etc.

Of course Jean Brunhes is a Frenchman—French of the very French. Every page of his work bears witness to his love of France and pride in her past achievement. But he has travelled much and wisely also. When he discusses mercantile or municipal progress he has plenty of material for comparison with other countries—Germany no less than England and the United States. And in this delicate field he sets the world the rare example of an ardent patriot who yet can see good beyond his borders and even point out home defects in a loving manner.

When shall the United States have its Jean Brunhes to write our history from the testimony of rivers, roads, mills, quarries, harbors, forts, churches, monuments? The field is fascinating if somewhat bewildering in extent of space to be covered. We have but three centuries of civilization here, where France has more than twenty. We have, however, in our short span of years, furnished examples of human endeavor as various as

those between the founding of Rome and its decline through luxury and military inaptitude.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

*Les Origines.* Par Frantz Funck-Brentano. [L'Histoire de France racontée à Tous.] (Paris, Hachette, 1925, pp. 400, 20 fr.) The somewhat belated publication of this initial volume completes the well-known and popular *Histoire de France racontée à Tous* through the period of the French Revolution. Like the second volume of the series, it is by the distinguished editor himself. It is a work of enormous scope, for, in the author's view, the history of France is no mere matter of medieval and modern times: it began far back among the ancient hunters who roamed the plains of Western Europe some twenty or thirty millennia before the beginning of the Christian era, and founded "by far the oldest civilization which the world has known". There is, therefore, a not inconsiderable chapter on the prehistoric period, and this is followed by four long chapters on Celtic Gaul, Roman Gaul, the Merovingians, and the Carolingians, which bring the story down to the election of Hugh Capet in 987 A. D. There are some dull pages, the result of excessive condensation, but there are many brilliant ones; and on the whole the book is written with the same lucidity and distinction of style and with the same strong appeal to human interest which have characterized all the other works of this versatile author. It is a valuable work which will be widely read. Yet it is blemished by what must surely seem to most readers, at least outside of France, an over-ardent nationalism which manifests itself in an extreme antipathy towards the Romans and, in a lesser degree, towards the Germans. For the author, the essential element of the French nation is to be found in the Celto-Ligurians, commonly called Gauls, whose civilization, already far advanced, was on the point of blossoming into a flourishing national life at the moment when it was overthrown by Julius Caesar, *un homme de proie*. The fall of Alesia marks the gravest hour in the national life. Vercingetorix was a glorious national hero. The Roman conquest of Gaul was an unmitigated disaster. The Roman contribution to the history of France was next to nothing. Indeed, in one place the author goes so far as to say that it was nothing—*ce n'est rien*. Not even the French language was derived from Rome, that is to say, not from the Latin of Virgil and Cicero. "Dans son essence et sa structure, dans son génie propre, le latin se rapproche de l'allemand . . . beaucoup plus que du français." The Germanic invasions and the long domination of the Franks still further turned back the clock. Their principal service was to sweep away the débris of the Roman domination, a work happily completed by the Northmen. Thus it was not until the ninth century A. D. that the people of France, in the main *le vieux peuple gaulois, celto-ligure*, recovered the control of its destinies, which had been lost at Alesia, and began the regeneration of the national life.

Among slips in proof-reading, the following may be noted: p. 149, l. 21, *avant notre ère* should read *de notre ère*; p. 177, l. 35, *un* is misspelled; p. 191, l. 4, *épiscopales* is misspelled.

C. W. DAVID.

*Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia.* By Elaine Elnett, Ph.D. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. xi, 151, \$2.50.) The chief object of Elaine Elnett's interesting book is to bring together in united and consistent form the story of the changes which have taken place in the organization of Russian family life and in its relation to the social institutions of the country, from the oldest times of the original patriarchal state of the Russian family life to the epoch of the great reforms under the Emperor Alexander II. (A. D. 1855-1881). First of all, I have to emphasize that the author possesses a good knowledge of Russian and is well acquainted with Russian literature; the reader will find, on pages 145-151, an interesting list of very well-selected Russian publications on the subject. Such an acquirement gives the author a considerable advantage over many other writers who have written upon Russia without knowing the language.

Russian literature being, in its major part, as says the author, the reflection of the surface of Russian life, has never been free from governmental censorship and interference; hence it is a poor guide to the depths of our social consciousness. As the Russian peasant, still essentially as primitive as he was centuries ago, has stored his accumulated wisdom in his folklore, and particularly in his proverbs and sayings, the author, in this book, turns her special attention to proverbs, and gives us, in the third chapter (pp. 90-134), a very long list of Russian proverbs which she accompanies with some explanatory remarks. This collection of Russian proverbs is interesting and instructive not only for the foreign but even for the Russian reader.

The first chapter (pp. 1-45) is devoted to the Pre-Petrine Life, *i.e.*, to the epoch preceding Peter the Great, the second chapter (pp. 46-89) to the Post-Petrine Life.

The author gives us a very vividly written picture of the gradual evolution of the life-conditions of the Russian woman. She shows in this portrayal of the development of Russian woman its dark and bright sides, childish superstitions and the seclusion in a terem—a special addition to the house, the change of the position of women under Peter the Great, and the new social and intellectual problems in the life of the Russian woman under Alexander II. in the nineteenth century.

Of course, historically entirely wrong is the statement of the author that Russia adopted Christianity from Greece when the Byzantine culture was already in the state of decline and decadence (p. 21; *cf.* also pp. 22-23). The time of the Macedonian dynasty, during which Russia was converted to Christianity, belongs rather to one of the brilliant epochs of the Byzantine civilization. A useful and living book!

A. A. VASILIEV.



*English Life and Letters in the Middle Ages.* By L. F. Salzman, M.A., F.S.A. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. 287, 7 s. 6 d.) The particular excellence of Mr. Salzman's work, a text-book written for schools and for students who are not already experts in the matters treated of, lies in the extensive field it covers and in the singularly happy illustrations, both pictorial and embodied in the text, of many homely matters of medieval life. The book necessarily, as is evident from its avowed purpose, does not touch on the deeper and more subtle questions of medieval civilization, but deals with daily living and ordinary thinking. The amount of useful and interesting information packed away in its pages is surprising. Some of the descriptions, like that of the manor and of the church, are perhaps a little stereotyped; others like the chapters on home life and industry and towns are fresher and less hackneyed. There is a certain amount of repetition and a recurrence of occasional phrases which revision would have eliminated. More serious is the question of the degree to which the writer of a general text-book of this kind may, for the sake of completeness and clearness, state uncertainties in minor matters as certainties, make definite assertions in cases where there may be reasonable doubt, as for example, the case of the date of the origin of the confederation of the Cinque Ports. On the whole, however, there is much faithfulness in the picture to medieval life as we know it.

Another question arises in relation to the great length of time included in the volume, the author defining his period as extending from the early conquest of Britain to the reign of Henry VIII. It is perhaps unavoidable that, in dealing with so long a period and treating necessarily so many phases of life somewhat superficially, he should fail to keep his chronological perspective clear. One wonders whether the student will understand easily the distance of time and difference of degree of civilization that separate King Alfred from Sir Thomas More. Leaving to one side, however, such criticisms, there is much in the book that is of interest to the general reader who will appreciate many of the delightful illustrations of the life and manners of the past—King John with his bath every three weeks, the boy under the counter removing the dough from the housewife's loaf under her very eye, the pious friar "who observed that Providence always caused rivers to run through large towns" to their advantage. The sense of vigor and motion and color that the book as a whole conveys will make the Middle Ages a living period to many young students, and medieval people will seem not so essentially different from ourselves.

N. NEILSON.

*The Order of Minoresses in England.* By A. F. C. Bourdillon. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. XII.] (Manchester, University Press, 1926, pp. 107.) Minoresses was the designation applied in England to those members of the Second Franciscan Order who on the

Continent were called Clarisses or Clares. The subject is not a large one, for there were in all but four establishments of this order in England, the most important being the one outside Aldgate, London, which gives name to the Minories. But out of wide and patient research and out of many bits of testimony or information Miss Bourdillon has constructed an excellent account of the foundations, their property, their relations with noble or gentle patrons and with the Friars Minor, the varied life of the sisters, and the circumstances of the dissolution in 1539. Moreover, writing with a light touch, she invests the story with a degree of interest not often given in this country, alas, to "masters' theses" on institutions of the Middle Ages.

*Some New Light on Chaucer.* By John Matthews Manly. [Lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1926, pp. xi, 305, \$2.40.) Chaucer's poetry, beyond that of any other medieval poet, even Dante, shows a steadily increasing love of concrete reality. Sometimes the reality is clear on the face of things, sometimes his sympathetic ink becomes no less readable with the help of learning and imagination. There is some presumption, therefore, in favor of Professor Manly's chief germinal idea, that Chaucer had real individuals in mind when he portrayed the characters in the *Prologue* and later in the *Canterbury Tales*. What Mr. Manly offers is "a collection of suggestions of a more or less speculative character", based on a prodigious mass of documentary evidence—names, dates, personal relations, events. "That some at least of the pilgrims were real persons" may mean that pretty much every detail would be recognized by an informed contemporary, such as those to whom Chaucer doubtless read his poetry; or merely that a general resemblance, or an occasional allusion, or a flicker of an eyelid toward a friend or oftener a victim would be understood. To prove the former must be impossible forever; that at least the latter is sometimes the case Mr. Manly makes us believe. It is true that Chaucer's love of concrete reality may have made him create it as well as photograph it. Instead of characterizations of real people "carefully wrecked" by subtle satire, the reviewer often sees rather a generalized admiration for efficiency, for competence in a man's main job, combined with a tough-minded amused half-toleration for the rough sins of this wicked world that may go with it. Chaucer could never quite ban a fellow-creature who did his main work well—one thinks for example of the Reeve and the Shipman. In many other cases, naturally, more than one interpretation is possible. But no short notice can do justice to what Professor Manly has contributed in deepening the background of the *Canterbury Tales*. Nor should one fail to mention the fresh points of view in the first quarter of the book, the new facts, the sound deductions as to Chaucer's life, especially as to the date of his birth, his family circumstance, his education and later use of it.

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK.

*English Women in Life and Letters.* By M. Phillips and W. S. Tomkinson. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xviii, 408, 10 s.) Students of social history and of literature will both welcome this delightful volume. It is composed largely of well-chosen direct quotations from varied sources, ranging from the familiar accounts of women in the *Canterbury Tales* to letters, diaries, and even fiction in more recent times. The extracts are cleverly woven together and their significance is made evident through pointed comments.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries receive more elaborate and happier treatment than the introduction on medieval women and the concluding sections on the early nineteenth century. Women of many types are depicted, some well known, as Dorothy Temple or Charlotte Brontë, others obscure. Most of women's occupations and interests are included: life at home in town or country, as mistress or servant, work in the professions or the factory, education, literary achievements, fashions, amusements, even crimes.

Choosing individuals to represent phases of periods means that idiosyncrasies of personality and character tend at times to blur the features of the age. Since, however, the book is primarily descriptive and illustrative, and only incidentally analytical, this limitation is less important than the vividness which the plan assures.

The book ends with a pessimistic note sharply contrasted with the tolerant, objective attitude of the earlier chapters. An indulgent smile for the foibles and shortcomings of long ago is replaced in parts by the tone of the indignant social reformer. By 1848 the evil consequences of an era of economic upheaval were appallingly evident, while even partial solutions of the problems and such ultimate benefits as the new régime brought to women were not yet clear. The scope of the book precludes adequate and balanced treatment of this period.

The value and interest of the volume are greatly enhanced by the lavish illustrations, chosen with rare felicity by Mr. John Johnson, printer to Oxford University, from illuminated manuscripts, wood-cuts, engravings, cartoons, and quaint old advertisements.

JUDITH BLOW WILLIAMS.

*Histoire de la Suisse, Essai sur la Formation d'une Confédération d'États.* Par William Martin. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 319, 20 fr.) "The object of this book is to place our history within reach of the general public and to help the Swiss to understand their country." In view of the vast amount of historical research carried on by Helvetic scholars and the numerous short manuals which have appeared on that soil, some reason for another attempt is reasonably due. The author finds in many books at least two faults, one in the excessive amount of detail, and another in the lack of perspective where Swiss history is a part of the general European current. From these the reader of this work has been mercifully delivered by reason, in part, of the limits set

by the subtitle, which calls it an "essay on the formation of a confederation of states". After a short chapter on racial origins and early medieval movements it leads at once to the beginnings of the confederation in the thirteenth century.

In his discussion of obscure points in the earlier combinations of the primitive cantons the author is fully up to date with modern scholarship, while his comments on causes and motives are keen and appreciative. The treatment of the period when Switzerland was a commanding military power exhibits the tendency to consolidation of the republics which the wars of religion later disrupted. Here the book makes good the promise of wide political perspective as well as just appreciation of the social and political factors at work. Not a single battle in the whole history of Switzerland is described in detail, but the causes and results of important conflicts are vividly set forth. The selfish separatism of the states, the costly mistakes of the leaders, the powerless futility of the federal diets, all receive their proper castigation, while the author holds fast to the threads of economic and political necessity which prevented complete disunion, and is not wanting in hearty appreciation of patriotic action.

The views expressed regarding the motives at work in certain crucial periods sometimes differ from those commonly accepted, while the estimates of well-known situations are often strikingly stated. Speaking of the French Revolution the author points out that of all the ideas spread abroad by that upheaval two struck a sympathetic chord among the Swiss, equality and the abolition of feudal rights. Liberty they thought they had already, but although personal service had practically disappeared the presence of tithes and privileges was a burden and a humiliation to the great peasant class. The Helvetic Revolution was, therefore, an agrarian uprising which eventually had no use for the imported unit state.

Swiss neutrality is usually assumed to be historically derived from Zwingli, but to the author it dates neither from 1516 nor from 1815, but is an international guaranty from 1860. Swiss jurists assume that it is an inherent right of sovereignty which is simply recognized by outside states, while, curiously enough, the Swiss government in practice acts upon the foreign theory.

Bringing the story through the World War, the problems of the future are set forth in a few paragraphs. The style of the book keeps the reader's attention throughout. To write one interesting chapter on the dull history of the eighteenth century in Switzerland is in itself an achievement.

J. M. VINCENT.

*Le Cardinal de Retz: Ambitions et Aventures d'un Homme d'Esprit au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle.* Par Louis Batiffol. (Paris, Hachette, 1927, pp. 240, 30 fr.) Some fifteen years ago the firm of Hachette began the publication of a series known as *Figures du Passé*, to include popular biog-

raphies of eminent characters in French history. Fourteen have now appeared, of which at least five, those of Mirabeau, Lauzun, Danton, Dumouriez, and Gambetta, have been reviewed in these pages. The most recent in the series is the present life of the Cardinal de Retz, by M. Louis Batiffol, the librarian of the Arsenal Library. M. Batiffol is well known as the author of the *Century of the Renaissance* in Funck-Brentano's *National History of France*, and of various books and monographs on the age of Louis XIII.

The memoirs of Paul de Gondi, Cardinal de Retz, first published in 1717, were by some critics considered spurious, until the discovery of Retz's autograph copy cleared these doubts and permitted the publication in 1837 of the first critical edition. The authoritative edition to-day is that of M. Chantelauze and others in that admirable collection, the *Grands Écrivains de la France*. M. Batiffol, asked to contribute the biographical article in that edition, has expanded that article to the present book, and explains that it has been his intention to prepare a life of the cardinal, devoid of prejudice, and based upon a critical use of all available sources.

There was a decided need for such a book. Extensive sketches of Retz have appeared in Bazin's, Ste. Aulaire's, and Chéruef's studies on the period of the Fronde, but these are all antiquated; and Sainte-Beuve's articles on Retz in his *Causeries du Lundi* are excellent, but very brief. No satisfactory life of the cardinal existed.

In some ways the results of M. Batiffol's work are disappointing. The nature of the series, perhaps, necessitates a book of popular character. Even so, the total absence of any bibliographical material and of an index is deplorable; and in consequence the book can hardly be of much value to the historian, save as the author may present new interpretations of events already known. And M. Batiffol has few new interpretations to present. His lack of interest in social and intellectual development is perhaps less serious in a biography than in his *Century of the Renaissance*, but is very noticeable even here.

Aside from these features, Batiffol's book is marked by clarity of style and fairness of judgment. Chantelauze believed that the cardinal, whose life was said by a Jansenist to be "the least ecclesiastical possible", was at heart a libertine, in the seventeenth-century sense of the word. Batiffol inclines to doubt his skepticism, although he remarks that a sermon of his, on hypocrisy, is done with a master's hand. The seven votes cast for Retz in the papal conclave of 1667 form an interesting commentary.

T. F. J.

*The Gordon Riots.* By J. Paul de Castro. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xiv, 279, 18 s.) This book should be welcomed both by the would-be "social scientists" and by those who enjoy history. For the latter it is a graphic day-to-day narrative of that week in 1780 during which London came near to mob rule, if not to revolution; and to the

scientific historian it offers a good compilation of contemporary accounts—some previously printed, but many presented for the first time—often overlapping in a story which is frequently compelled to return on its tracks, but which keeps the vividness of the eyewitness even where the author himself takes up the tale. The chronological account is followed by an interesting examination of possible foreign influence behind the outbreak; and in his appendixes the author gives the best possible assistance to his reader.

In his preface Mr. de Castro claims to have established several points, and in some at least he is fully justified: for example, that the lax conduct of many city magistrates amounted to direct complicity with the rioters; that the government, notably Lord Stormont, acted wisely and with vigor, but was held back by an unfortunate legal interpretation which gave the magistrates too great a control over the use of the military; and that one great lesson of the insurrection was the need for establishing an effective police force in the city. On the other hand, his claim that Lord George Gordon was "a revolutionary of the first water", seeking an outlet for political ambitions, seems hardly more justifiable than a similar claim based on the rather different characterization in *Barnaby Rudge*. The contemporary view, expressed forcibly by Horace Walpole, that Gordon was a lunatic, could be far more easily supported. The author's emphasis, too, on the unpopularity of the American war seems a little far-fetched in the light of the narrative, although no one would deny that the war was one contributory cause of a deep-seated unrest. He does not balance this claim by any adequate consideration of the bitter class-animosities which alarmed such impartial observers as Wesley, and which, coming out unmistakably in the events of these few days, form after all the main reason for allowing more than incidental importance to the Gordon Riots. It would seem appropriate also to make more than a brief mention of the way in which the riots helped to frustrate some interesting attempts at constitutional reform.

These criticisms, however, provoked chiefly by the claim to a thesis, do not seriously affect the main function of the work; and the author is entitled to high praise for a colorful, authentic, and well-documented narrative.

G. H. GUTTRIDGE.

*Labor and Politics in England, 1850-1867.* By Frances Elma Gillespie, Ph.D. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1927, pp. viii, 319, \$4.00.) The years immediately following the collapse of Chartism have tempted few students of labor politics. Yet this is the period selected by Miss Gillespie for investigation and her effort has been justified by the results.

The history of this phase is a difficult one for the investigator to follow because there was no connected movement. Instead there was a

series of spasmodic and intermittent agitations for reform. Although all failed in the immediate objective, the outcome was a new and significant policy. The class antagonisms of Chartism and the theory of independent political action on the part of Labor gave way before a spirit of co-operation with the middle classes. The sequel was the winning of the Second Reform Bill of 1867. The apparently barren period of the 'fifties was ultimately most fruitful.

The significance of the social and economic background of the movement is well set forth. So are the motives which finally converted the masses to political action and those which underlay the support of some classes for reform and the opposition of others. The importance of the entry of the trade unions into the agitation of 1866-1867 is rightly emphasized.

The prevalence of working-class enthusiasm for political reform during most of the period seems to the reviewer to be somewhat overstated. Most of the agitations concerned no great portion of the working class, but little minority groups here and there struggling to make an impression upon the apathetic mass about them. There was much latent sympathy with democratic causes, but far more active interest in building up trade unions and co-operative societies. Political indifference disheartened every reformer. There actually existed, moreover, a widespread feeling, especially among the trade unions, that tinkering with the machinery of government was futile. This sentiment was positively anti-political.

CARL F. BRAND.

*Profili Biografici e Bozzetti Storici.* By Alessandro Luzio. (Milan, L. F. Cogliati, 1927, pp. 525, 565, 78 lire.) *Studi Critici.* Nuova ristampa con illustrazioni. By Alessandro Luzio. (Milan, L. F. Cogliati, 1927, pp. 533, 39 lire.) In the bibliography of Risorgimento history Luzio's name recurs more frequently than that of any other writer, and not one of his volumes or pamphlets fails to make a serious contribution to historical studies. His new volumes of *Profili* are an important collection of studies previously published in periodicals, and about two-thirds of them previously republished in Luzio's volume bearing this same title and in his two volumes of *Studi e Bozzetti*; a very considerable number of the studies given in these two earlier works are, however, here omitted. The present volumes include Luzio's "G. Mazzini", "Un Dramma in Casa Carducci", "Gli Ultimi Giorni di Carlo Alberto", "Napoleon III. e l'Italia nel 1859", "Garibaldi a Varese", "La Notte di Caprera di G. d'Annunzio", "Mantova nel Quarantotto", "Moltke e la Guerra del 1859", "Le Autoapologie dei Generali Austriaci sconfitti nel 1859", "Persano e Tegetthoff" and "Il Carteggio di G. Verdi con la Contessa Maffei". The other studies relate to a great variety of men and events of the Risorgimento. Many of the studies are book reviews, but even these contain information and judgments of value not to be found in the books reviewed. Unfortunately Luzio gives no bibliographical references to indicate where the studies originally appeared.



The volume of *Studi Critici* consists of four important Risorgimento studies, being reprints of Luzio's *Le Cinque Giornate di Milano*, without alterations; *Radetzky*, without change from the edition of 1910; "Antonio Salviotti e i Processi del Ventuno", with slight verbal retouching and bibliographical additions; and a study entitled, "Il Principe di Metternich e gli Ambasciatori Sardi Conte Pralormo e Conte Sambuy". This last is primarily a favorable review of von Srbik's *Metternich*, to which are appended extracts from unpublished despatches of Pralormo written in 1832, in Vienna, where he was Sardinian minister, of which the originals are preserved in the R. Archivio di Stato in Turin, of which Luzio is director.

*La Bessarabie, Étude Historique, Ethnographique, et Économique.* Par Antony Babel, Docteur en Sociologie, Privat-Docent à l'Université de Genève. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1926, pp. 360, 30 fr.) About half this book is taken up with historical matter, perhaps one-fifth with economic; smaller sections are devoted, one to geographical and the other to ethnographical information. The historical sections take in general the Rumanian interpretation of the origins, development, and recent history of the Rumanian peoples both north and south of the Pruth. Yet one can not say that this Rumanian viewpoint is over emphasized or too sweeping in its expression. There follows the story of Bessarabia's connection with the neighboring lands, a confusing story well told here.

There is more than a bit of the atmosphere of a reference book, perhaps an unfortunate amount since the volume will thereby appear much drier to the casual reader than it should. There is however something of interest in the story of Bessarabia's development and in the descriptions of present-day conditions. The treatment may seem somewhat superficial—even the statistics—and the material itself incomplete, full data apparently not being available on some of the racial, economic, and social questions, but we can take what there is with some confidence and rejoice at having so much, at any rate.

Want makes for gentle criticism. When we have mysterious sections of the world with vexed questions of vital interest, direct or indirect, to the world at large, even a little light upon them is most heartily appreciated. Hence our pleasure in reading what Mr. Babel has to say. For here is a study of Bessarabia that appears to have the earmarks of impartiality, by one neither Russian nor Rumanian, and coming as it does from an atmosphere supposedly neutral, that is from Geneva. It is all the more welcome at present in view of the recent act of Italy: the recognition of Rumanian sovereignty over Bessarabia. Some light has been vouchsafed us before in the controversies connected with Bessarabia, its natural complexion, and the Rumanian rights. Alfred L. P. Dennis<sup>1</sup> a few years ago in a necessarily brief chapter showing thoughtful study decided for Rumania and the preponderance of Rumanian culture; Charles Upson Clark also<sup>2</sup> gave us the strongly Rumanian view.

<sup>1</sup> *The Foreign Policies of Soviet Russia.*

<sup>2</sup> *Greater Rumania.*

A few typographical errors show: Bismark (p. 176 f.), etc. Though there is no general bibliography, the abundance of references given in the foot-notes is worthy of commendation. One is accustomed nowadays to the unfortunate lack of an adequate index in cheaply published books. Here the lack is absolute though somewhat mitigated by excellent section headings. More to be deplored is the complete absence of maps for recent history; the three inserted come down only to 1812.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

*Europe since 1870.* By Edward Raymond Turner, Ph.D., Professor of European History in the Johns Hopkins University. Revised edition. (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1927, pp. xii, 776, \$3.50.) The first edition of this book which appeared in 1921 did not fulfil the promise of its title, but ignored post-war events of first-rate importance. In the present edition this defect has been remedied and the history of Europe brought as near to date as can reasonably be expected.

Chapters XX. and XXI., respectively entitled Problems after the War and European Countries after the War, give the reader the major essentials of European development since the Treaty of Versailles. They are concerned with economic and political conditions in the various countries, with the difficulties which the statesmen are struggling to overcome, and with international relations and alliances. They give brief and satisfactory accounts of such important events, movements, and achievements as the conferences concerning reparations, the occupation of the Ruhr, the Dawes plan, Fascism, the work of the League of Nations, the Locarno Conference, the Washington Conference, and the Irish Free State. That Professor Turner has unusual gifts for the selection and condensation of material is beyond question.

Other portions of his book have also been enlarged, revised, and strengthened, notably his discussion of the immediate causes of the World War. For this subject he has utilized the information made available during the past six years by the opening of the German, Austrian, Russian, and British archives. He refuses, however, to accept the revisionist dogma of a "Franco-Russian Plot that Caused the War" and clings with contumacy to his earlier belief that Germany stands first in responsibility for the struggle; and he does this in spite of being excommunicated and anathematized by the Great High Priest of American Revisionism, a fact which may explain why he finds no place in his bibliographies for the *Genesis of the World War* by the redoubtable Dr. Barnes.

His following description of the revisionists (p. 490) touches their professional honor so closely that new thunderbolts may be launched:

When the war was over German apologists and advocates endeavored to undo the ascription of blame to Germany, which elsewhere generally prevailed. In this they were presently supported not merely by extensive propaganda but by the efforts of idealists, enthusiasts, sympathizers, friends, some of whom styled themselves "revisionists"—they would re-

wise the verdict and the penalties which the verdict assessed. By dwelling little or not at all upon what Germany and Austria had done, by ignoring old evidence and stressing the importance of new information, by implying that the victors were guilty of withholding evidence still more damaging to themselves, by stressing whatever evil the Allies had done, and arranging the evidence to support their allegations, above all by alleging that previous judgments unfavorable to Germany were the result of misinformation and propaganda by the Allies and "war hysteria" which made most people mistaken and easily deceived, German advocates and revisionists undertook to show that not only was Germany not solely guilty of causing the war, but that she was not principally guilty, and that the Allies had been most to blame.

There are, of course, minor defects in the book, as for example, an unnecessarily confusing account of the difference between communism and socialism, a difference now clearly established and well recognized (pp. 603-604). His description of the German presidency under the new constitution is not accurate (p. 698), a fact attested by his own statements on page 699. On the whole the book is scholarly, impartial, and comprehensive, and is an excellent introduction to a course on the World War.

E. E. SPERRY.

*The Oil War.* By Anton Mohr, Lecturer in Political Geography in the University of Oslo. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1926, pp. vii, 267, \$2.50.) Books and articles upon the political history of petroleum are common and typical symptoms of the growing pains of a world-economy, into which the national economies of the present era seem to be rapidly merging. Professor Mohr's volume is the latest and in many respects the best of these contributions. It is interestingly written and is probably as accurate as the uncertainties of the data permit. Furthermore its author enjoys the advantage of being the latest in the field and of speaking as a neutral, from a neutral tribune, to a neutral audience.

Essentially the book is a record of international oil rivalry since the World War. Although well toward one-half of its contents are devoted to the earlier history of the petroleum industry, the real story begins with the sudden awakening of the belligerent governments, in 1914, to the fact that the internal combustion engine, on land, on the sea, under the sea, and in the air, was an absolutely decisive element in that conflict. This conviction logically precipitated a struggle for oil even among the former allies as soon as armed hostilities were over. That struggle is the oil war which gives the book its title.

Four chapters cover this campaign up to the present. Their respective headings are: Re-Grouping, which deals with the mobilization and deployment of the adversaries; the Near East, which describes hostilities on the eastern front; Central America, which traces the fortunes of battle on the western front, and America versus Britain, which summarizes the gains and losses of the chief contestants to date. Such a presentation is sufficiently sensational and alarming, at least to Americans, who are represented as hopeless losers in the contest. A rather futile State Depart-

ment—at least as compared with the long-headed gentlemen of Downing Street—a domestic oil industry that has waxed fat and slothful, and national staleness begotten of a plethora of prosperity that disqualifies us to cope with our lean and eager rivals account for this.

So much for the author's thesis and conclusions. We think he over-stresses the military at the expense of the industrial aspects of the oil question. His interpretation of post-war diplomacy in western Asia, although absorbingly interesting and in its way illuminating, and his description of political jobbery—we can hardly dignify it by the name of diplomacy—in Spanish America, are almost too oily. Some of his sources are weak. An oil promoter's matutinal cock-crow and a newspaper despatch hardly measure up as authorities to the foreign office arcana upon which the author's generalizations are ostensibly based. Probably also he would have spoken more conservatively of Britain's petroleum conquests in America had he been aware that the operations of British-Controlled Oil-fields—just reorganized—which “have very rarely been made public”, have now been sufficiently illumined to disclose the fact that its shareholders have lost two-thirds of their capital, and that only one—and that a rather minor area—of the numerous and costly concessions of this great pioneering company seems to be blessed with petroleum in paying quantities or to be held by an assured title. Nevertheless we should class this volume among the—we fear too numerous—books that “every American should read”. It will give him more of a thrill than an ordinary novel, and will call his attention to many indisputable facts which every citizen should know.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

*The Social Revolution in Austria.* By C. A. Macartney. (Cambridge, University Press, 1926, pp. xii, 288, 8 s. 6 d.) This is an extremely useful and, at times, entertaining study of a subject upon which there is at present little available information in English. The four opening chapters sketch the background of the political revolution of 1918 and the history of the first years of the Austrian republic; there follows the most important portion, albeit less than a third, of the work, dealing with Austrian Socialism and Socialist legislation; after a study of the peasants, the middle classes, and the Jews, in each instance rather summary in character, it concludes with a chapter upon the relations of Austria to Central Europe.

The book contains so much of suggestive as well as of informative values that it may seem ungracious to complain that the space given to the general setting appears excessive in comparison with the more special study of Austrian Socialism. It is certainly necessary, as the author contends, to “see what were the conditions which gave birth to this form of world movement . . . and further, what was its effect on the non-Socialist classes of society”. But an expansion of the middle portion, dealing specifically with the Austrian Social Democrat Party, would have en-

hanced its value for the special student and clarified a complex situation for the general reader. In a work so largely given to generalization mis-statements are pleasingly infrequent. It is hardly true that in Bohemia and Moravia the "population was in general almost inextricably mixed"; nor that during the first two years of the war the Habsburg armies were "undefeated". In his larger statements Mr. Macartney has done service by emphasizing facts which are not invariably recognized, as for example, that, apart from the prohibition of the "Anschluss", the peace treaties did little beyond legalizing a *de facto* state of affairs.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

*Social Life in the Cape Colony in the 18th Century.* By Colin Graham Botha, Chief Archivist for the Union. (Cape Town and Johannesburg, Juta and Company, pp. 115.) Out of the rich stores of record and correspondence in the archives of the Cape Colony and out of books of early travellers Mr. C. Graham Botha has acquired an immense amount of detailed knowledge respecting the social life of his country under the régime of the Dutch East India Company. Out of this wealth of detail he has prepared this unpretending but very interesting and well-illustrated book, written with great compactness, wasting no words, but full of information. The life of the company's officers and the burghers in Cape Town, and that of the dwellers in the country (two widely differing types of life) are minutely described—government, militia, church, houses and furniture, farms and agricultural operations, travel and hospitality, recreations, manners and dress and customs. Descendants of New Netherlanders, members of the Holland Society, and all who care for the history of the Dutch in America, will find a great deal to interest them in the volume.

*The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615–19, as narrated in his Journal and Correspondence.* Edited by Sir William Foster, C.I.E. New and revised edition. (Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. lxxix, 532, 18 s.) In 1899 the journal of Sir Thomas Roe was printed by the Hakluyt Society in one of its usual small editions—printed for the first time from the original manuscript in the British Museum, Purchas and subsequent editors having printed from copies, imperfectly or with great abridgment, though Purchas had access to versions which went to a later date than the one surviving volume of the original manuscript. The Hakluyt Society's volume, edited twenty-eight years ago by Mr. (now Sir) William Foster, has long been out of print. The present edition makes available to all readers the history of a remarkable negotiation and a vivid narrative and description of India under Jahāngir, which has quite extraordinary value and interest. The editor, whose competence in his field is of course unsurpassed, has amplified his introduction and annotations. As in the previous editions, the text of the original manuscript, ending February 11, 1617, is pieced out by Purchas's additional

text and by letters, of which however thirty are added in the present edition, from the archives of the India Office and from other sources.

*China and her Political Entity: a Study of China's Foreign Relations with reference to Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia.* By Shuhsi Hsü, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Political Science in Peking (Yenching) University. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xxiv, 438, \$2.00.) This book is based on Chinese as well as on Occidental sources. The statement supplied by the publishers that it is "unique" in this respect is, however, not warranted. It is a very illuminating historical and critical study of *some* of the problems, both of domestic politics and of foreign relations, which have confronted China during the past three centuries.

On the title-page and in the author's preface John Hay is quoted as saying, "The policy of the United States is to preserve the territorial and administrative integrity of China". Also in the preface appears, "the active policy of restoring the complete control of Manchuria to China as pursued consistently by the McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft Administrations". What Hay really said, that it was the policy of the United States to "seek a solution which may . . . preserve China's territorial and administrative entity", is correctly quoted on page 256.

The chapters on Historical Background and Decline of the Tsing Dynasty, based almost wholly on Chinese materials, are the most original contribution; but the chapters on the Korean Problem and the Boxer Rebellion and a portion of the chapter on the Reconstruction of Manchuria also contain much valuable material that is for the first time made available.

Chinese historical scholarship exhibits a tendency to be subjective in the field of political argumentation. Thus Professor Hsü writes: "one is prompted to ask whether fifteen years constitute a reasonable length of time after a war to permit the return to ante-bellum conditions. . . . The question as to whether tranquillity is re-established being a question of opinion rather than a question of fact" (p. 408). With regard to the Boxer indemnities he says: "for the mad acts of these few culprits China was yet made to pay a lump sum of 450,000,000 taels" (p. 238).

Professor Hsü repeatedly lays emphasis upon the incompetency of the Manchus. He throws new light upon American participation in Far Eastern diplomacy. In the last chapter he gives an interesting account of proposals for intervention in China during and after the Rebellion of 1911 (pp. 348, 376-377); he summarizes the principal acts of aggression against China by foreign powers since 1911; and he gives a much needed and very illuminating account of the Russian-Chinese negotiations of 1924 and the "preliminary agreement on general principles" of May 31, 1924 (pp. 419-426), which is usually and erroneously thought of as a treaty in which Russia has "restored" China's "lost rights".

STANLEY K. HORNBECK.

*China's International Relations and other Essays.* By Harley Farnsworth MacNair, Ph.D., Professor of History and Government in St.



John's University. (Shanghai, China, Commercial Press, 1926, pp. ix, 326, \$2.50, Mex.) Professor MacNair has made good use of his years in China and has placed us all in his debt by a number of volumes on the land and people of his sojourn. One of these, *The Chinese Abroad*, is a scholarly departure into what had been a practically unworked field. Another, *Modern Chinese History: Selected Readings*, is a useful collection of material for teachers. The present little volume, like its immediate predecessor, is a collection of essays and deals with topics which have been of great importance in the past few months. The "unequal treaties", the land regulations of the International Settlement at Shanghai, the government registration of Christian schools, and various other phases of the missionary enterprise are among those treated. All the essays have previously appeared elsewhere, but some of them have been worked over for the purposes of the volume. None of them represents any extensive research—they do not profess to do that—but they are all based upon excellent works. Professor MacNair is a good judge of sound research and has an unusual capacity for putting into popular and readable form the technical and sometimes arid material collected in the monographs of others. Especially informing is his description of the government and the titles to property in the International Settlement at Shanghai. He frequently draws lessons from the past and so ventures onto debatable—at times hotly debatable—ground. Occasionally, too, he falls into error in a statement of historical fact. For example—and here he has good company—he ascribes the misfortunes of the Catholic Church in China in the eighteenth century to the decision on the rites question, whereas that was only one and perhaps not the most important one of the causes. On the whole, however, the historical statements are thoroughly dependable. Dr. MacNair concludes his volume, as is fitting, with a chapter on what the study of history can contribute to the solution of the China problem.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

*China Yesterday and To-day.* By Edward Thomas Williams, Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature, University of California. Revised edition. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1927, pp. xviii, 664.) On its first appearance, four years ago, this volume by Professor Williams immediately took its place as the best recent general book on China in English. It covered the geography, history, and many of the phases of the life and culture of the land with a wealth of vivid illustration based upon wide observation and extensive reading. The new edition brings the historical section down to the close of 1926 and adds a chapter on Chinese art. The supplement to the historical narrative will not prove especially helpful, for it is very brief and the author has little to say of the intellectual renaissance and student movement which are so important a part of recent events. We shall, however, all be grateful for the chapter on art.

K. S. L.



*Foreign Rights and Interests in China.* By Westel W. Willoughby, Professor of Political Science in the Johns Hopkins University. Two volumes. Revised and enlarged edition. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1927, pp. xxxvi, xvii, 1153, \$12.00.) This excellent work, first issued in 1920, has been a recognized reference book on the subject with which it deals. In this new form it has been brought down to date and considerably expanded. Its classification is excellent, its scope is comprehensive, its comments are judicial and well tempered, and its extracts from official documents and its quotations from other works are extensive and well chosen. It is easily the best source-book on a topic which is to-day of great importance.

K. S. L.

*American Orations: Studies in American Political History.* Introduction by George Haven Putnam, Ph.D. Fifth edition, two volumes. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927, pp. xxiv, 405, 433; iv, 416, 481.) This is a useful collection of contemporary opinion, which first appeared in 1884 as *Representative American Orations*, three volumes, edited with introductions by Alexander Johnston, late professor of jurisprudence and political economy in the University of Princeton, which in 1896 was re-edited in four volumes, with new materials and historical notes by Professor James A. Woodburn of Indiana University, and now appears in its fifth edition in two volumes with an introduction by Dr. George Haven Putnam. Apart from this introduction of nineteen pages, the only change made is the combining of two volumes of the earlier edition into one, as parts I. and II. The pagination is repeated in each volume for each part. There are no new references added to the notes, nor have any specimens been included to illustrate recent issues, the last address reprinted being that of Carl Schurz before the Civil Service Reform League, December 12, 1894.

*Washington.* By Joseph Dillaway Sawyer. Two volumes. (New York, Macmillan, 1927, pp. xviii, 640; vii, 619, \$20.00.) One of the most difficult American biographies to write is that of George Washington. The many reasons for this have not daunted Mr. Sawyer who has assailed the problem with unbounded, honest enthusiasm and a wealth of illustration most unusual. The work begins with the English ancestry of Washington, but the fundamental principles of a biographical study are quickly forgotten in the evident pleasure with which the author inducts the reader into his concept of Washington. In this he is not so successful as he, doubtless, would wish. The thread of biographical continuity is continually broken by excursions into collateral American history which, however interesting, obscure the main theme, at times completely. This enthusiasm probably explains the presence of many of the particularly irritating Washington legends, which are placed before the uncritical reader, often with scant caution, as the drama of the Revolutionary War lures the author from the safe path of historical rectitude. There are

over a thousand illustrations, many of which are good, and it is a pleasing renewal of an old acquaintance to meet again with the *Godey's Lady Book* picture of the battle of Germantown, even though redrawn and greatly reduced. It requires, however, hardened sensibilities to withstand the shock of the hand-to-hand fighting at Trenton, where buckskin-clad frontiersmen battle in a forest over the corpse of an Indian warrior. Also General Greene's fight at Ninety-Six seems, from the picture, to have been largely an effort of nude negroes to draw buckets of water from a swampy stream.

As to the text it seems sufficient to point out that Thomas Paine is there stated to have been the secretary of the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence; that the British force landed on Staten Island, prior to the battle of Long Island, is given as 55,000, of which 17,000 were Hessians, though a few pages later the total is reduced to 25,000; that the two battles of Trenton are fused as one; that Arnold's conduct in Philadelphia resulted in "defalcations"; that Washington set a trap for Cornwallis at Yorktown and that Washington founded the Society of the Cincinnati in 1785.

The bringing together of 250 portraits of Washington in volume II. is a real convenience, even though many of them are greatly reduced in size and others are scored, doubtless perforce, by the disfiguring line of the auction-catalogue illustration.

The many quotations lack authorities and are not over-exact. It seems impossible to quote correctly Washington's remark regarding Shays's Rebellion: "Influence is no government", just as it seems difficult to spell General Greene's name Nathanael. It should be remembered also that the November 12, 1799, letter, a copy of which is shown on page 367, volume II., is not the last letter written by Washington, as in the Library of Congress the last holograph letter is of December 10, 1799, and there is also, in the Hamilton Papers, an L.S. to Hamilton, dated December 12.

J. C. FITZPATRICK.

*The Preliminaries of the American Revolution as seen in the English Press, 1763-1775.* By Fred Junkin Hinkhouse, Ph.D., Philo Carpenter Hildreth Professor of History, Parsons College. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, no. 276.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. 216, \$3.50.) This is a very satisfying study, in that the author has strictly limited his inquiry, and then confined himself loyally to the field so delimited. The twelve years before the outbreak of the American Revolution have been the subject of a number of searching inquiries in recent years, but strangely enough it has not occurred to any previous investigator to examine thoroughly the English newspapers. Bearing in mind the fact that English newspapers of the eighteenth century, like English newspapers to-day, were filled with letters from really respectable correspondents (not mere cranks), and that in the eighteenth century these letters often took the place of editorial comment,

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we can see at a glance what field for a study of public opinion such a source offers. Moreover, the author of this book makes out an excellent case to support his contention that the English newspapers were surprisingly impartial in the letters and paragraphs which they accepted. The findings as to the nature of the discussions preliminary to the Revolution are fitted by this author into categories already pretty well defined by the pioneer researches of Professor McLaughlin, and the subsequent study of Professor McIlwain. The same is true as to the theories heretofore advanced about the Revolution. Such a statement as "The Stamp Act was repealed, not because of any recognition of the justice of the American claims, but because of pressure brought to bear by the trading and manufacturing interests of England", is not new—but to have the statement made by one who has taken the trouble to examine thousands of contemporary newspapers and has not relied upon pamphlet propaganda alone, is refreshing. Moreover, there is something satisfactory about the date of a newspaper, as when the author discovers that the effectiveness of the non-importation policy was actually coincident with the discharge of hundreds of workingmen in Birmingham. Did or did not the people of England support the policy of the king and Lord North? Was or was not articulate opinion behind the policy of government? Such a study as that of Mr. Hinkhouse is essential to anything like a correct answer to this question.

He refrains from dogmatic conclusions, but suggests that his researches on this point convince him that the American Revolution was in fact an English Civil War. That the newspaper paragrapher was as much of a phrase-maker as the pamphleteer may be seen from the remark, "the Question rightly understood, is not Great Britain against America, but the Ministry against both". As the outbreak approached, the opposition to the ministry seemed to grow rather than to decline, and Mr. Hinkhouse adduces yet more evidence to prove how utterly unlike modern wars was the American Revolution in which, after Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, Englishmen came out flatly and denounced the sending of troops to America. Mr. Hinkhouse's effort is sometimes a trifle deficient in effective presentation, but it is a distinct addition to our knowledge in the vexed and nebulous field of public opinion, as well as in that of the political and economic preliminaries of the Revolution itself.

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

*Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia.* Volume I., *The Letters of Patrick Henry.* Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond, Virginia State Library, 1926, pp. vii, 410, \$4.00.) The inauguration of this series is a most commendable enterprise and its consummation will be eagerly awaited by all who are interested in Virginia history, for it will not only make available much hitherto unprinted material, but will bring into proper sequence the whole body of executive communications.

The present volume covers the first three terms of Patrick Henry as governor of the state, extending from July 1, 1776, to June 1, 1779. Un-

fortunately the executive letter-books of the period have been lost, as have also disappeared many important letters known to have been written by Governor Henry, the consequence of which is that this volume is essentially, so far as letters are concerned, a collection of survivals. Dr. McIlwaine disclaims indeed that the volume is to be regarded as in any sense definitive. (This reviewer, by the way, has noted a few letters in the Library of Congress which the editor did not discover.)

It is further to be observed, as Dr. McIlwaine takes pains to point out, that this volume is more comprehensive in character than its title would indicate; for it includes not only letters written by lieutenant governors (notably John Page), but also extracts from the Journals of the Council and House of Delegates, and even extracts from other sources which throw light particularly on missing letters.

This reviewer has, upon the whole, only commendation for the editorial work; nevertheless he feels tempted to suggest that a little greater uniformity in the headings is desirable. He likewise makes bold to call attention to a few of the errors noted: The letter of John Page (p. 141) is misplaced; "Benjamin Harrison" (p. 169) for Benjamin Franklin; "St. Gerard" (p. 327) for Sr. Gerard (*i.e.*, Sieur); "John Jay" (p. 332) for Henry Laurens. The indexer has consolidated two Benjamin Harrisons and also Robert and Richard Morris.

E. C. B.

*David Hartley, M.P.: an Advocate of Conciliation, 1774-1783.* By George Herbert Guttridge. [University of California Publications in History, vol. XIV., no. 3.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1926, pp. 110, \$1.25.) This study gives an account of David Hartley's attempts to arrange a conciliation or "succidaneum" with the colonies during the Revolution by way of letters with Franklin, speeches in Parliament, and interviews with Lord North, and after the war as the representative of Shelburne, Fox, and Carmarthen in Paris. He had in mind an arrangement a little short of independence or an autonomous position within the empire based upon a liberal commercial policy, and for that reason the study is particularly interesting now in view of recent British Empire developments. Perhaps the American representatives looked upon a plan which included liberal terms of commerce with England more favorably than the author brings out and the publication of a Hartley letter describing the "succidaneum" as for instance Hartley to Fox, no. 1, Nov. 6, 1783 (Leiter Library, Hartley Papers, IV. 49), would have been more helpful in understanding the paper than the one given in the appendix and already published in C. Sumner, *Prophetic Voices of America*.

*An Introduction to the Study of the American Constitution.* By Charles E. Martin, Ph.D., Dean of the Faculty of Social Science, University of Washington. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xliii, 440, \$3.50.) Professor Martin states his purpose to be "to

furnish the student and the general reader with an introductory study of the American Constitution". The work falls into three parts. In the first the formation of our constitutional system from its English and colonial beginnings is traced through the Federal Convention of 1787. In the second the development of the Constitution principally through judicial interpretation is sketched. Part III. deals with the Spirit of the American Constitution. Parts I. and II., with the appendixes, make the work a useful *vade mecum* for the student of American government, although its value for that purpose could have been considerably enhanced had more attention been given to bibliography.

Part III., as is perhaps inevitable, contains a number of questionable statements. The conception of "the sovereignty of the state" did not begin with Aristotle (see p. 272); the problem had not yet been dreamed of. "The doctrine of natural rights and of the social contract" was not "introduced into England by the Scotch Presbyterians" (p. 273). The English version of both is unique, and the Mayflower Compact preceded the Scottish National Covenant by nearly two decades. The term "doctrine of judicial supremacy" (p. 278) is misleading. There may be judicial supremacy as a matter of fact, but judicial doctrine denies it. It is also a mistake to speak of Aristotle as an "advocate" of the "doctrine of the separation of powers" (p. 277), although his observation that government involves three more or less distinguishable functions doubtless affords the starting-point of the doctrine. The statement, too (p. 125), that Story "resigned" soon after the decision in the Charles River Bridge case is erroneous. Story remained on the bench until his death in 1845.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

*The Frontier in American Literature.* By Lucy Lockwood Hazard. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1927, pp. xx, 308, \$2.75.) Professor Turner's paper, "The Significance of the Frontier", has had a peculiarly stimulating effect upon the younger generation of scholars. From it seemingly can be drawn theses accounting for every phase of American life. During the last publishing season two volumes have appeared accounting for our literary history solely as a frontier evolution and other similar works, as we happen to know, are in preparation. Miss Lucy Lockwood Hazard, who is an instructor in English in Mills College, California, has the distinction of being the first in the field. Astride the thesis that up to this time American literature has been written with the accent on "literature" she starts out to rewrite the history of American letters not only with the accent on "American", but with the ever-present contention that every phase of it worth noticing at all has been a frontier development. The tone of the book throughout is revolutionary, the tone of a conscious rebel who is sometimes aghast at her own daring. "It is time to decanonize Emerson. . . . Is it too shocking a heresy to suggest that John Winthrop, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and

George Follansbee Babbitt stand in logical succession? 'If this be treason, make the most of it.' Longfellow she dismisses in two sentences, and Aldrich, Stedman, Howells, and kindred writers she barely alludes to: they were not frontier developments; they really are not of *American* literature at all. But David Crockett, Daniel Boone, the Washington Irving of *Astoria* and *Captain Bonneville*, Cooper, and John Neihardt are presented in full-length studies. Even transcendentalism, as she voluminously explains, was a frontier phenomenon. The disappearance of the frontier with its free land she, with Professor Turner, places in the eighteen-nineties. It was followed by the gilded age of industrial pioneering and then by the period of depression and hopeless pessimism—the age of Dreiser. She, however, is serenely optimistic. In her last chapter she prophesies with Hebraic enthusiasm "the coming age of spiritual pioneering" with—it is hard to refrain from smiling—H. L. Mencken, Sinclair Lewis, Vachel Lindsay, and Sherwood Anderson as the prophets of the new golden age. The book is a stimulating one and in parts really brilliant. Its weakness comes from the fact that the author has adhered too strictly to her thesis. The frontier undoubtedly has had an important influence upon American life and development, but to treat it as if it were the only influence, to weigh every writer in this one balance, is to create a false perspective. To look solely at things uniquely American in our literary product is to belittle our literature and our intellectual development. Longfellow is still as worthy of our study as is David Crockett.

FRED LEWIS PATTEE.

*The Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Brazil.* By Joseph Agan. Volume I. *The Portuguese Court at Rio de Janeiro.* (Paris, Jouve and Company, 1926, pp. 146.) This book under review is the first of five volumes "dealing with the major legal, political, and commercial questions that have arisen from our intercourse with the Kingdom, Empire, and Republic of Brazil". That such a survey is a desideratum has long been recognized by students of Hispanic-American history and diplomacy. The present volume embraces only the period 1808–1821, which coincides with the residence of Dom João VI. and the Portuguese court at Rio de Janeiro. These years, though of outstanding significance in the history of Brazil, yield rather meagre results to the investigator of inter-American relations. Our State Department evinced only a perfunctory interest in Brazil and much of the time of our minister was consumed in futile efforts to obtain satisfaction from Portugal for her unneutral conduct during the War of 1812. Though Portugal had formally proclaimed her strict neutrality she did not scruple to furnish British merchant ships with convoys, she made no real effort to prevent the destruction of the privateer *General Armstrong* by the British brig *Carnation* while the American ship was at anchor under the guns of the fort at Fayal in the Azores, nor did she prevent the capture of the *Levant* in the harbor



of Porto Praia in the Cape Verde Islands. It was this failure of Portugal to enforce observance of her neutrality which explains in some measure Monroe's policy with regard to the capture and pillaging of Portuguese vessels by Americans in the alleged service of Uruguay although his attitude was also conditioned by his well-known sympathy for the cause of Spanish-American independence. As a consequence of Dom João's designs on the north bank of the estuary of the La Plata, Artigas, the founder of Uruguayan nationality, issued commissions in blank and sold many to adventurers, principally at Baltimore. Mr. Agan analyzes the ineffectual protests of the Portuguese chargé, Corrêa da Serra, against the activities of these privateers. And in truth, despite the stiffening of our neutrality laws, no really serious effort was made to check the depredations of these adventurers whose status was but little removed from that of pirates. In the preparation of his monograph the writer has made use of the archives of the State Department and of the unpublished papers of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe in the Library of Congress. His bibliography reveals a knowledge of all the more important Portuguese and Brazilian works dealing with the period. It is a pity that the results of his researches should appear in such a shabby format. The book was printed in France on poor paper and with flimsy binding. Typographical errors, the results of careless proof-reading, abound. Occasional errors of fact also appear. Bahia is not three hundred miles north of Rio de Janeiro but nearer eight hundred (p. 10). The statement (p. 67) that "most of the opposition to Artigas came from another guerilla, Elío", is misleading. Elío was the seventh Spanish governor of Montevideo and returned to Spain in 1811, while Artigas did not retire from Uruguay until nine years later. It is to be hoped that the make-up and appearance of subsequent volumes in the series will be more in keeping with the dignity and importance of the subject.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

*Statesmen and Soldiers of the Civil War, a Study of the Conduct of the War.* By Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1926, pp. xi, 173, \$3.00.) The studies in this book were delivered as the Lee-Knowles Lectures for 1925-1926 at Trinity College, Cambridge, and were later published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, with the exception of one lecture, the substance of which appeared in the *Forum*. These studies are "frankly . . . objective", and are a consideration of Lincoln and Davis and their respective policies as they illustrate "how not to interfere with soldiers" in war time, and of how Lincoln "evolved a system for the conduct of war" that was at once effective and illustrative of the principle that "policy and strategy should go hand in hand". Because of the "similarity in their broad outlines of the problems of the American Civil War and of the Great War" and the diverseness of the personalities of Lincoln and Davis and of Lee and Grant there seemed to be an opportunity to illustrate this principle and to point a moral.



"War found the North with a President who with little administrative and less military experience was far from being master in his own house." But despite this situation Lincoln "was able from the first to do, in those matters most important for military success, that which might have baffled the skill of a very practised statesman" and, we might add, an experienced administrator. From the first he had a very definite military policy—to exert continuously the greatest possible military pressure upon the South—but he did not know how to translate this policy into suitable instructions to his generals. He required "a military interpreter of his policy as well as a commander of his armies and it took him time to discover that need". His failure to reach this decision caused him to evolve a military plan of his own which only caused trouble and disaster until he ceased making plans and stuck to formulating and enforcing a policy. As General Maurice says: "Statesmen and Soldiers must have clear ideas as to their respective functions." Lincoln learned this through trial and error, enforced by his lack of qualified advisers and the failure to find a commander who could bend his strategical conceptions to the political and civil requirements of the moment. In the end, he "worked out a definite formula for the relations between statesmen and soldiers . . . that . . . has not since been improved". Davis, on his part, was not so fortunate.

Lincoln and Davis and their respective advisers were but the instruments or victims of a bad system. There were not enough trained leaders to provide them with the qualified technical advice of which they were both sorely in need, nor was there any well-considered system of conducting war. Lincoln developed and built up such a system under the stress of bitter need. Davis never devised any effective system. Vagueness, want of precision, and needless defeats were the inevitable consequence of the absence of such a system and of the lack of a clear understanding by all concerned of their respective functions, responsibilities, and powers.

The book under consideration is of value in that it points out, clearly and effectively, the need for a previously thought out and accepted system of conducting war. Always, in this day of the nation-in-arms in war time, there must be intelligent and whole-hearted co-operation between the people, the statesman, and the soldier. This necessity and the results to be expected from its fulfillment, General Maurice has pointed out clearly and in an interesting and convincing manner. The book is a plea for a considered relation devised in peace time to be applied and used in war time. It should be in the library of everyone, student and general reader alike, interested in the study of the proper relations of civil policy and military leadership in war time.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

*The Military Genius of Abraham Lincoln.* By Brigadier-General Colin R. Ballard, C.B., C.M.G. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926,

pp. 246, 15 s.) This book is written on the premise that Lincoln "was solely responsible for the strategy of the North". The author finds little to criticize and much to praise. Lincoln "struck the key-note", his was the responsibility, to him belongs the credit.

The author discusses Lincoln's relations with McClellan in some detail and arrives at the conclusion that McClellan's "organizing faculties were overdeveloped" and that his "self-importance had grown to such an extent that he looked upon himself as the only hope of the North". In these two factors the author finds the key to McClellan's conduct. The removal of the army to northern Virginia after the failure of the Peninsula campaign is justified on the ground that it could only be expected that McClellan, if left there, would continue to do nothing; that officer's restoration to command after Pope's failure was ordered because McClellan "had shown once before his power of control". His final removal from command is justified because of his continuing a "do nothing" policy, but no suspicion of treasonable acts or intentions is ascribed to him.

The blockade is justly considered as a strategic move; likewise the Emancipation Proclamation. Criticism of the policy of "attending too much to the occupation of territory" rather than "to the destruction of the enemy's forces" is made. Grant's neglect properly to consider the threat of an active invading force in the Shenandoah Valley is discussed and the blame for this failure is somewhat attached to Lincoln because where Grant was concerned he "effaced himself too much" and "in withdrawing his control he also withdrew his assistance".

The book does not contribute anything that is new on the subject, but furnishes a good brief account of the military operations in Virginia with particular reference to Lincoln's leadership and control. There is only passing mention of the operations in the West. The book is well printed, has a number of useful maps, an index, and a short bibliography of standard works.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

*Expansion and Reform, 1889-1926.* By John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D., Professor of History in Smith College. [Epochs of American History.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. xix, 355, \$1.50.) Like the preceding volumes in this series this book is primarily a chronicle of the most significant events and developments of the period assigned to it. As such it is open to little unfavorable criticism. The reader who desires a clean panoramic view of the years 1889 to 1926 will find it here set forth with a really remarkable detachment and freedom from personal bias. Indeed it will be found that the author's treatment of the administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt is, if anything, rather more sympathetic than is that of the administrations of Cleveland and Wilson. When one considers the recentness of the events and the well-known political predilections of Mr. Bassett, this is no inconsiderable achievement.

The first ninety pages deal somewhat inadequately with the years from 1887 to 1901 in that the reader will find little guidance in forming a correct estimate of the sordid and materialistic character of this period of our history. In fairness to Mr. Bassett it should be pointed out that the limitations set upon his work probably account for general lack of philosophic treatment of the facts he presents; and certainly this is the safest course for one to pursue in attempting to treat as history such very recent occurrences. The four following chapters, which take us from the beginning of Roosevelt's administrations to the end of the first Wilson term, constitute an extremely skillful study of the great struggle for social and political improvement at home and of our growing importance abroad. The various characters, methods, and achievements of Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson are set forth with the utmost deftness and fairness. Most of the remainder of the book is devoted to a very valuable presentation of our relations with Europe at war—as neutrals, as allies, and as leaders in attempts at peace-making. It can safely be said that no such complete account of America's participation in the Great War has elsewhere been compressed into such small space and such satisfactory form.

In the preface Mr. Bassett says he has "tried to keep before the reader the continuing struggle of a free people to govern themselves in the best attainable way". That a very large measure of success has attended his efforts will be apparent to every thoughtful reader.

The bibliographical suggestions are very comprehensive and will be found most useful. The maps are clear and really illustrate the text. A few unimportant errors have escaped the attention of the proof-readers.

FREDERIC L. THOMPSON.

*Prince Lucien Campbell.* By Joseph Schafer. (Eugene, Oregon, the University Press, 1926, pp. 216, \$2.50.) This is a brief biography of an attractive figure and personal force in the history of public education in Oregon. Written by a friend and colleague of many years, it has the advantage of personal interpretation based on intimate knowledge. The author was thus enabled to supply many admitted deficiencies in written records of a personal character. The reader will note the omission of a bibliography and of an index. To such disappointments one must add the rather frequent use of conjecture in the words, "perhaps", "probably", "possibly", etc., when there was a lack of letters and documents. Prince Lucien Campbell is revealed as a descendant of a line of pious religionists and teachers, a man trained in a small denominational college but broadened by study at Harvard, a teacher in and president of a rural normal school, then for twenty-three years president of a small but developing state university. In these various activities and opportunities Mr. Campbell was a man marked by love of scholarship, expanding visions of service, clean ambition to lead the people of Oregon

to maintain public education worthy of an enlightened commonwealth. And this was no easy task in that state, as Dr. Schafer's story makes plain. That President Campbell won through to success against opposition and discouragements is the best tribute to his reasonableness and to his power in the management of men. He does not appear as a dominating personality, or a creative thinker, or a leader inspiring devoted disciples to heroic endeavor, but he inspired confidence and won loyalty both for himself and for his policies, applying high intelligence and fine good-will to educational administration in co-operation with colleagues and officers of government. The reader will enjoy the pleasant pictures of contacts between this university president and students, as well as avocations pursued in philosophy and verse writing. The net result of Dr. Schafer's analysis and affectionate tribute, a publication made possible by the graduating class of 1927 of the University of Oregon, is to reveal the significance of a life's devotion of a gentleman and scholar to the realization of his purposes.

C. A. DUNIWAY.

*Records of the Moravians in North Carolina.* Edited by Adelaide L. Fries, M.A., Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province. Volume III., 1776-1779. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1926, pp. 977-1490.) The third volume of Moravian records in North Carolina is introduced by "A Short Historical Account about the present Constitution of the Protestant Unity of the Brethren of the Augustan Confession". This is a translation into clear, quaint English by Traugott Bagge in 1778 of a German original by Bishop Spangenberg (printed in Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1772), explaining to the Brethren and to the public the essentials of the constitution of the Unitas Fratrum. Under three heads Spangenberg gives a specification of the places where Brethren's congregations and missions existed all over the world at that date; a description of the inward constitution (doctrinal confession); of their outward constitution, *i.e.*, government, meetings, statutes, customs, and ideals. Graff reports, July 14, 1778 (see Salem Diary, p. 1239), that Bagge's manuscript translation "will be lent to visitors of distinction who ask to read something about the Brethren", and adds: "I wish it were printed." This wish is now fulfilled after the lapse of 148 years, in part I. of this volume.

Part II. continues the memorabilia, minutes, diaries, etc., of Salem, Bethabara, Bethania, and Friedberg, covering the years from 1776 to 1779. The materials presented are equal in importance and perhaps superior in general interest to those published in volumes I. and II. The following are typical entries (from the Bagge MS., 1779):

In March the value of paper money had fallen so low that we had to change the ratio of 4 for 1 to 8 for 1; but when the British invaded Georgia and South Carolina the value went quite to the ground. The

dollar fell to 4 d., and from then on each man traded as best he could without a standard; we used hard money.

On April 26th a large detachment of Gen. Pulaski's Legion arrived unexpectedly at Salem. . . . Most of the men had been captured from the English and their German auxiliaries and had enlisted again on this side. . . . They and their horses were cared for as well as we could. On the 30th they marched on to South Carolina. As they were leaving the Major asked that a certificate be given that the soldiers had behaved well. During their stay some of them heard the preaching of the Gospel in our Saal, and not without effect.

But they had with them one man who was sick with the small-pox, and this brought the infection into our town. Our ignorant and malicious neighbors threatened to destroy the town if we inoculated, so the small-pox stayed among us until October. . . . It was customary for such people [passersby] to have a leaf of tobacco which they smelled as a preventive, some stuck tobacco leaves in their nostrils, one even saw some passersby who had smeared tar on the forehead, under the nose and elsewhere. On account of the small-pox the Brethren in Salem escaped many intended demands and much passing, for we saw little more of troops except that on the 3rd of May twelve Virginia recruits passed with a baggage wagon toward South Carolina. . . .

In 1779 the insecurity of the position of the Brethren was relieved by the resolution of the general assembly in Halifax (N. C.), which ordained that if they would take the prescribed affirmation of allegiance to the United States they should be left in the peaceful possession of their lands, and should be exempt from military service, paying a threefold tax in lieu thereof.

Part III. contains Bagge and archive papers of the same period, 1776-1779, and part IV. Moravian liturgies and funeral chorals, with musical notations, a welcome addition. The volume is well printed and illustrated as were the previous volumes.

A. B. FAUST.

*History of Mississippi.* By Dunbar Rowland. Two volumes. (Chicago, S. J. Clarke Company, 1925, pp. xxi, 933; xii, 905, \$40.00.) Dr. Rowland's *History of Mississippi, the Heart of the South*, has probably given us the best narrative history of the state and the only advanced work which brings the history up to a recent date. In this interesting and patriotic work the author has succeeded in presenting the political and military history of Mississippi for the popular reader, but it is not a complete story of the development of the state as a community.

Beginning with the physical features of the state, it takes up the Spanish, French, and English explorations and colonization, followed by the story of American rule and a chronological treatment of events up to 1924. This consumes the first volume and half of the second. In the latter part of volume II. chapters on Education, Industries, Transportation, Slavery, and Racial Influences are interesting, but, though well done, are not complete. Other chapters entitled Mississippi in Congress,

Banks, Banking, and Finances, and the Mississippi Press are composed largely of lists which are of varying interest and importance. Volume II. ends in a rather stereotyped form with chapters on the history of counties of Mississippi.

The production abounds in illustrations which are always interesting and often instructive. The inclusion of several clear maps would have been a benefit. Though liberal use has been made of quotations, seldom are the sources definitely stated and foot-notes are not to be found. The amount of space given to topics often indicates nothing of their relative importance. For instance, Legends, Myths, and Eloquence of the Mississippi Indian consumes twenty-six pages, while the famous "Black Codes" are stated and discussed in three. Thirty-three pages are given to a list of Mississippians paroled at Appomattox; the Panic of 1837 takes two, the same number being given to Mrs. Humphreys's account of her ejection from the gubernatorial mansion. Much of local interest could be extracted without injuring the work.

On the whole the two volumes show much research both in these books and the forerunner to them, Rowland's *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* (1902), from which much of the material is derived.

ROSS H. MOORE.

*Arkansas in War and Reconstruction, 1861-1874.* By David Y. Thomas, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science, University of Arkansas. (Little Rock, Arkansas, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1926, pp. vi, 446, \$1.50.) Within the compass of 435 pages Professor Thomas has written an impartial and accurate history of Arkansas during the Civil War and the Reconstruction period. While, as the author states, the book was not written for mature scholars, it is nevertheless scholarly in all essentials. As the title indicates, the narrative is largely confined to those phases of the war that primarily concerned Arkansas. From an intimate and exacting study of the sources the writer has presented the economic, social, and political aspects of life during the war period with rare appreciation and judgment. The chapters on the nature of the Union, party politics in Arkansas on the eve of the war, the movement for secession, and preparations for defense show a discriminating comprehension of all the elements involved and a sympathetic understanding of the forces which swept the state into the Confederacy and held the majority of the people in firm allegiance throughout the war. As with other accounts of the secession movement, the discussion of the Union sentiment of 1860-1861 in Arkansas lacks definiteness of conclusion. This, however, is accounted for by the paucity and the very nature of the sources available.

Though the author is avowedly "no militarist and very much averse to war", there is no clear evidence of such aversion in the statement of facts or the interpretations. Throughout the treatment of military problems, leaders, and policies runs a well-sustained detachment not



usual in state histories of this class. The bewildering confusion in which the minor military operations have been heretofore related is largely cleared away, and light engagements, hitherto meaningless except as guerrilla or bushwhacking activities, are shown to have had real military purpose and significance. From the standpoint of pure military history this is a distinct contribution to the literature of the period. Further elaboration at this point would add interest to the book for the special student. Without glorifying war or the exploits of military heroes, both are set forth in an evenness of temper that makes the book historically useful for the special student as well as for the general reader. The account of the horrors of war and the part played by the women of the period does full justice to the participants without statements or constructions that might stir anew long-allayed animosities. The absence of meticulous details of a biographical or local nature is a feature of the book which meets the demands for a nonpartizan and unembellished story of the war in Arkansas.

THOMAS S. STAPLES.

*Spanish Alta California.* By Alberta Johnston Denis. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. x, 537, \$3.50.) This is a narrative of Upper or New California from the moment it dawned upon the Spanish scheme of things American to the birth of the first Mexican empire—from 1542 to 1822. It is told in the lives of the chief personages, explorers, missionaries, and governors seriatim, with punctilious faithfulness to the published sources and great respect for chronology. Generous and graceful credit is given for all the authorities used, and they have been carefully winnowed. The result is a readable and on the whole an accurate account of the Spanish province. There is a minor mistake in following Eldredge's account of Anza's expedition; the route taken is now known, through H. E. Bolton's researches, to have been several miles farther west for a space of some forty miles. The background of Spanish interest in the occupation, though indicated, hardly conveys a conception of the tremendous task completed in the conquest of the south before the take-off beyond the desert into the new realm could be undertaken. The ocean voyages, the final land expeditions, and the founding of the missions, that is the big epic of the occupation, is well told. All the round-the-world voyagers, and all the governors and missionaries receive their due portion of attention. The character of each personage is adequately drawn, without departure from the conventional pictures we have. It can not be said that the work adds anything to the already-told story. An effort has been made to make it a "popular" history by the use of a few well-chosen illustrations and by elimination of foot-notes. Authors used are simply noticed parenthetically. This device, with short paragraphs and a generous use of quoted selections from documents, tends to give the text a little jerkiness. But there is no mawkish effort to "sickly o'er" with a pale cast of romance the deeds of the Spaniards, and the use of their source-materials is faithful, and, it should be noticed, correct, even to spelling and accentuation. This is a rare accomplishment with our "popular" writers.



*Raffles, 1781-1826.* By R. Coupland, Fellow of All Souls College, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. 134, 6 s.) This is the fourth biography of Raffles which has appeared in English since 1897. Measured in quantity the attention which the English have paid to their great colonial administrator is certainly adequate. Measured by quality this last biography, like the others in the series, is far below the deserts of its hero; it is ill-informed and inconclusive.

Raffles's greatest achievement was the reorganization of Java in the period of British occupation extending from 1811 to 1816. An account of what Raffles proposed to do in the island, a sketch of his ideals and his projects, can be constructed from his own writings; and these are provided sufficiently well by the author. An account of what he actually accomplished can be given only by a student who has taken the pains to inform himself as to conditions existing before Raffles's arrival, during his stay, and after his departure. A comparison of facts is necessary for a just appreciation of Raffles's work, and a knowledge of the facts is open only to one who uses Dutch sources. The author cites "a very valuable account of Raffles's administration" translated from the *Indische Gids* without recognizing, apparently, that this is but one of a long series of similar studies by Dutch scholars, based on original documents, and essential to an understanding of the facts. So long ago as 1857 Levyssohn Norman wrote a better account of British rule in Java than any which the English have since given us, and no careful scholar would now attempt to treat the subject without studying the recent contributions of P. H. van der Kemp, scattered through the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, and published in separate volumes. The author accepts at their face value statements by Raffles and others without allowing for ignorance and prejudice; he assumes that projects were realized without following them through their transformations; his whole account of the institutional reform is fanciful. He omits facts that were not to Raffles's credit (for example, the land sales to private parties), and, on the other hand, does less than justice to his hero by his failure to recognize the difficulties of the situation and Raffles's magnificent efforts to overcome them.

The latter part of the book, dealing with the administration of Bencoolen and the founding of Singapore, likewise neglects Dutch studies, but suffers less on that account than the part dealing with Java. The little book is admirably written and shows a faithful study of English sources. It is unfortunate that it is so ill-founded.

CLIVE DAY.

*The Life of John Graves Simcoe, First Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, 1792-96.* By the Honourable William Renwick Riddell, LL.D., D.C.L., Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario. (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1926, pp. 492, \$6.00.)

*The Correspondence of Lieut.-Governor John Graves Simcoe, with Allied Documents relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada.* Collected and edited by Brigadier General E. A. Cruikshank, LL.D., F.R.S.C., for the Ontario Historical Society. Volume IV., 1795-1796. (Toronto, the Society, 1926, pp. xviii, 424, \$1.00.) Justice Riddell's life of Governor Simcoe has many solid merits. It is based upon wide research and a very full body of materials, collected with great industry by the late John Ross Robertson. The writing of the biography, which was to be a work of co-operation of two friends, has fallen to Justice Riddell alone. Besides the published material—the four volumes of the *Correspondence*, Lady Simcoe's *Diary*, etc.—the author has drawn upon the rich stores of the archives at Ottawa and Toronto, and much else. All the knowledge that anyone would need to have respecting Simcoe is in the book, and every student of the history of the United States during the years when Simcoe was lieutenant governor of Upper Canada should have and use it, if he has any appreciation whatever of the important relations between Canada and the United States during those years. The thoroughness of Justice Riddell's research is everywhere evident in the book, perhaps too evident. *Redolet lucernam.* At the end of each of the twenty-nine short chapters there is a group, as long or longer, of supporting notes giving chapter and verse for all statements. That the book will be found highly readable can not be affirmed with equal confidence, nor does it give a penetrating study of Simcoe's character. The reader is hardly made aware of his defects of temper or the bigotry of his mind. Apart from some references of a slighting character, quite unwarrantable, to Professor Bemis's *Jay's Treaty*, the tone of the book in dealing with controverted matters is moderate and fair, but it is not one of those rare books which, in treating such matters, give equal weight to the testimony of both sides. In the crucial matter of the Western posts, for instance, their retention is based on American infractions of the treaty. That the British Secretary of State sent orders for their indefinite retention the day before King George proclaimed the British ratification of the treaty, and five weeks before ratifications were exchanged, is a known fact, and has been known for thirty-three years, but the fact seems to have no weight on the mind of Justice Riddell. After the biographical chapters there are excellent chapters on provincial finance and on the personnel of councils and assembly.

General Cruikshank's edition of the *Correspondence* has been sufficiently discussed in connection with the preceding volumes. The fourth and last of them covers the period from May 2, 1795, until Simcoe's departure in August, 1796. Like its predecessors, it contains much besides letters from or to Simcoe; out of 450 documents or so, some 200 are not of that character. One need not quarrel with this, for the series is a wonderful storehouse of information on Canadian and Canadian-United States history of the period, and the Ontario Historical Society makes it available at an astonishingly low price.

## COMMUNICATIONS

Editor of the *American Historical Review*:

SIR:

In your January number, page 317, Professor Sidney B. Fay reviews my pamphlet *Der Schlüssel zur Kriegsschuldfrage*. I ask leave to reply, omitting, to save space, some minor points:

1. Professor Fay declares that I could not adduce a single expression of any authoritative person in which the exchange of thoughts between the two chiefs of the General Staffs, German and Austrian, is designated as a "military convention". It is true that Moltke and Conrad themselves always apply to it purely German expressions, such as *bindende Abmachungen*. But "*bindende Abmachungen*" means in German the same as *Konvention*, and "*bindende militärische Abmachungen*" constitute a "*Militärkonvention*".

2. Professor Fay declares further that the arrangements between Conrad and Moltke were not "binding". In this he sets himself in opposition to Conrad and Moltke, and also, as I have shown on page 22 of my pamphlet, to the German secretary of state von Jagow, and thus to all possible authorities.

3. Professor Fay declares that the correspondence between Conrad and Moltke did not alter the terms of the German-Austrian treaty of alliance of 1879. Bismarck however declared, in 1887 and earlier, and it was agreed to by the Austro-Hungarian government, that the *casus foederis* of the treaty of 1879 was a purely defensive one and did not come into operation if Austro-Hungary by an attack on Serbia provoked a war with Russia. By the treaty of 1879 Germany was not under obligation to come to the help of Austro-Hungary in 1914 in such a case. (See the documents quoted in my pamphlet, pp. 6-11, 14, 15.) If, nevertheless, Germany put herself under obligation to render that help, and did in fact render it, the *casus foederis* between Austro-Hungary and Germany must have been changed in the meantime. I have shown that this was done by correspondence between Conrad and Moltke, that by that correspondence an offensive *casus foederis* was substituted for the defensive *casus foederis*.

4. But why did the German government on July 31 sharply break off the steps toward mediation then in progress, send Russia a merely twelve-hour ultimatum, and on August 1 declare war? The reason lies in Conrad's plan of operations, "*Aufmarschplan*". That was so arranged that at latest on the fifth day of the mobilization of Austro-Hungary against Serbia, that is to say, on August 1, the decision must be made, whether war was to be waged merely against Serbia or also against Russia. Just as Schlieffen's plan of operations for the German army carried with it the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, so Conrad's plan of operations

carried with it the sudden breaking off of the mediation of Germany between Austro-Hungary and Russia, Germany's short-termed ultimatum on July 31, and her declaration of war against Russia on August 1. This plan of Conrad's, joined with the German-Austrian Military Convention of 1909, forms the key to the question who is responsible for the war. One is as important as the other. For this reason I in my pamphlet—for the first time—called attention to the critical term of Conrad's plan of operations. But Professor Fay in his review does not mention it.

5. Finally, Professor Fay reproaches me with having falsified a date in order to prove that Emperor William II. was responsible for the ultimatum presented to Serbia in October, 1913, by Austro-Hungary. What he describes as a falsification is only a misprint or slip of the pen; October 19 is given in my pamphlet as the day of despatch of the ultimatum, instead of October 18. But my assertion that William II. agreed to this ultimatum is and remains nevertheless correct. At the time when I wrote my pamphlet I could rest that assertion only upon an indication, a conversation that Emperor William II. had with Conrad on October 18, 1913, and—what was more important—upon my political judgment sharpened by thirty years' observation of the relations between Vienna and Berlin. Meantime, however, the official documents have been published, which, to my great satisfaction, confirm my judgment and contradict Professor Fay's reproach. They are in vol. XXXVI. of the collection of documents published by the Berlin Foreign Office, *Die Grosse Politik*, etc. From them it appears that in fact the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Berchtold, on October 15, informed the Berlin government of his intention to send a new ultimatum to Serbia, and sought the support of that government, and that that support was promised him by the German government, already on October 16. In taking that action the German government assumed that the German emperor, then absent on a journey, would agree to this consent, and in fact the emperor on October 17, "with great satisfaction", expressed to the Berlin government his approval (nos. 14160, 14161, 14162, and 14172). Accordingly, the assertion which I made long before the publication of the documents, and which Professor Fay stigmatizes as falsification, that the Emperor William agreed beforehand to the Austrian ultimatum of 1913, has subsequently been completely confirmed by the documents.

6. I have shown that the German government, a couple of hours before it learned authentically of the general mobilization by Russia, had resolved on sending the ultimatum to Russia. Professor Fay, without stating my proofs, finds them unconvincing. A German historian on the other hand, Professor Veit Valentin, has declared them to be "incontestable" (*Die Friedenswarte*, August, 1926). If, however, my previous proofs have not yet convinced Professor Fay, I will bring forward a new one. Herr von Tschirschky, German ambassador in Vienna, on the basis of a telephone message received from Berlin, assured Count Berchtold, early ("früh", that is, according to Viennese usage, in the morning hours before 9 o'clock) on July 31, 1914, that the German Imperial

Chancellor intended immediately ("sofort") to send an ultimatum to Russia (*Oesterr. Rotbuch*, 3. Teil, no. 80). Since, however, the authentic news of the general mobilization of Russia arrived in Berlin at 11:40 a.m., and was not registered there till afternoon (*Deutsche Dokumente*, no. 473), it is clear that the German government's resolve to send an ultimatum to Russia was taken some hours before it learned of the Russian general mobilization.

With the best thanks in advance for the publication of this letter in your esteemed *Review*, I am, Sir,

Very truly yours,

DR. HEINRICH KANNER.

Editor of the *American Historical Review*:

SIR:

May I answer very briefly Dr. Kanner's letter?

1. I am gratified that Dr. Kanner confirms my criticism that no responsible authority ever speaks of the Moltke-Conrad arrangements as a "Military Convention". This phrase connotes a written and signed document, specifying such things as the number and allocation of troops. But no such document was exchanged between Moltke and Conrad, or between their respective governments. Therefore Dr. Kanner was not justified in using it as the "key" to the question of war responsibility.

2. When Dr. Kanner says I "declare that the arrangements between Conrad and Moltke were not 'binding'", he does not quite correctly represent what I said. I wrote that their arrangements were "hardly as definite or as binding as those which had been made by the French and Russian staffs". The reader may judge for himself by comparing the former in Conrad's memoirs with the latter in the *Livre Noir*. It may be added that in the crisis of July, 1914, Conrad and Moltke each had some uneasy hours wondering if the other was going to leave him in the lurch (*cf.* Conrad, IV. 151 ff.), but no such uncertainty appears to have troubled the French and Russian staffs; and afterwards the French and Russians seem to have carried out substantially their military agreements, but Germany, owing to the Battle of the Marne, did not feel "bound" to move troops against Russia as the pre-war arrangements with Conrad had contemplated; it is to this fact that the Jagow letter refers.

3. I said that the Moltke-Conrad letters did not "legally" modify the terms of the alliance, but I also mentioned in the first paragraph of my review, as one of the "good points" in Dr. Kanner's pamphlet, his contention that the Austro-German alliance was originally under Bismarck essentially defensive, but later tended to become offensive. The Franco-Russian alliance underwent a somewhat similar change from a defensive to a potentially offensive character. This change in the spirit of both alliances was largely caused by the tightening of the tension between the two groups of powers into which Europe was divided after 1907, and by the rival aims of Austria and Russia in the Balkans. No doubt the ar-

rangements of the military staffs in both cases also contributed to this unfortunate change; but it is a great exaggeration to ascribe the change in the Austro-German alliance, as Dr. Kanner appears to do, to the Moltke-Conrad arrangements alone.

4. Dr. Kanner is quite correct in saying that Conrad desired a decision before August 1, but quite wrong in saying that this is the main reason for the German ultimatum to Russia. Germany was trying hard to delay Russian general mobilization, and would have continued to do so even beyond August 1, quite regardless of Conrad's plan of operations. If Conrad's desire for a decision before August 1 had really been an important factor at Berlin in determining the sending of the ultimatum to Russia, it would find an important place in the documents which we have concerning decisions in Berlin. But such is not the case. The real reason, as Bethmann told Tirpitz at 4:30 p.m. the same afternoon the ultimatum was sent, was that: "Otherwise our [German] mobilization would have fallen too much behindhand" (Tirpitz, *Politische Dokumente*, II. 10).

5. As to the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia on October 18, 1913, Dr. Kanner in his pamphlet attributed this to Emperor William's conversation with Conrad, although Conrad's memoirs (which was the only authority which he cited or which was available to either of us at the time we wrote) clearly show that the conversation took place several hours *after* the ultimatum had been sent. By dating the ultimatum October 19, instead of October 18, Dr. Kanner made it appear that the conversation was known at Vienna *before* the ultimatum was sent. This made me suspicious of Dr. Kanner's historical method. If the change in date was "only a misprint or a slip of the pen", I gladly retract my criticism.

The new documents in *Die Grosse Politik*, which subsequently became known to Dr. Kanner and myself, do show that the Berlin Foreign Office did give moral support to Austria before she sent the ultimatum, and that Emperor William did on October 17 express "great satisfaction" to the *Berlin Foreign Office* at its reply to Austria, but there is no indication that his satisfaction was known at *Vienna* at the time the ultimatum was sent.

6. Dr. Kanner thinks that the German ultimatum to Russia was "resolved on" several hours before Germany learned of the Russian general mobilization, and would thus destroy the common German contention that the latter caused the former. The facts are simple. Russian general mobilization was definitely ordered about 6 p.m. on July 30. Several rumors of it reached Berlin (*cf.* Renouvin, p. 162 f.) before it was finally officially confirmed by Pourtalès's telegram at 11:40 a.m. on July 31. It is probably true that the Berlin authorities, in view of these rumors, resolved to send an ultimatum to Russia, if and when the rumors should be definitely and officially confirmed. It is significant, however, that Bethmann resisted militarist pressure, kept control, and did not act on his "resolution" until he was assured beyond doubt that Russia had ordered general mobilization. It was therefore after all the Russian general

mobilization, first rumored, then confirmed, which caused Berlin to send the ultimatum and take steps preparatory to German mobilization.

Very truly yours,

SIDNEY B. FAY.

### CORRECTION

In the *American Historical Review*, vol. VII., pp. 704-706, is printed a letter of Alexander von Humboldt written in 1845. Through the kindness of Lieut.-Col. John Bigelow, U. S. A., Retired, we have been shown a photostat of the letter, from which it clearly appears, although the handwriting is excessively difficult, that certain words of importance in the text were rendered incorrectly. The following corrections should therefore be made:

P. 704, line 3 of the text, for "grandement" read *généralement*; line 13, for "Veraguas" read *Verapaz*.

P. 705, line 7, for "Doliver" read *Bolivar*; line 18, for "douté" read *dressé*; lines 33, 36, and 37, for "Gavella" read *Garella*.

P. 706, the last sentence but one should read, "J'espère que vous avez vu ma Notice sur l'Amazone et les communications avec la Mer du Sud (Jn [John] Clause) que j'ai insérée dans la Gazette de Spener il y [a] 6-7 jours".

This sentence refers to an anonymous paper entitled "Handelsverbindung mit der Westküste von Südamerika durch den Amazonenstrom" published (by Humboldt, it appears) in Spener's *Berlinische Nachrichten von Staats- und Gelehrten Sachen*, no. 275, November 24, 1845, p. 4, columns two and three, in which it is recorded that a certain Philadelphia sea-captain named John Clause was said to have penetrated South America in a steamboat by the Guallaga River from the Atlantic Ocean to within eight English miles of the Pacific.



## HISTORICAL NEWS

### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is expected that vol. I. of the *Annual Report* for 1922 will be distributed during the month of July.

The Committee on Endowment reports in May that, to an endowment which eighteen months ago stood at \$52,000, additions amounting to \$128,000 have been paid in or promised. It is hoped that a successor to Senator Beveridge as chairman of the committee will soon be secured. Its vice-chairman, Professor Dana C. Munro, and its executive secretary, Professor Harry J. Carman (609 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University), will care for its interests and work till October 1.

No. 6 of the *Bulletins* of the American Council of Learned Societies, issued in May, contains reports of the proceedings of that body and its executive committee for nearly a year past, of the conference of secretaries of the constituent societies which usually accompanies the Council's annual meeting in January, and of the seventh meeting of the Union Académique Internationale held at Brussels in May, 1926. It is expected that Professor Ogg's report on his survey of research in the humanistic sciences will be published in October, as a volume of about 400 pages.

The first annual meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences since its organization in Geneva a year ago was held in Göttingen, on May 13 and 14. The meeting may justly be regarded as one of the most significant events in international intellectual relations since the war. Thirty-five delegates were present, representing twenty countries: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Jugoslavia, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. The committee was enlarged by the acceptance of applications from Danzig, Esthonia, and Algeria-Tunis for membership. The final report of the subcommittee on the *International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography* was adopted, and a committee of three was appointed to execute that important undertaking: Messrs. Reincke-Bloch, Breslau, chairman, Ussani, Pisa, vice-chairman, and Pierre Caron, Paris, secretary. The first volume of the *Yearbook* will appear in 1928 and will include the production of 1926. The chapters devoted to general works and to the history of science will be edited in the United States. The *Yearbook* will be edited from Paris, under the immediate direction of M. Pierre Caron. The report on the project of a list of diplomatic agents since 1648 was presented by Dr. L. Bittner, of the Austrian General Archives, for the subcommittee of which Dr. J. F. Jameson is chairman. The subcommittee was continued and charged with securing the necessary co-opera-

tion in the various countries for the execution of the project. A proposal for the creation of an *International Review of History*, approved by the governing board at its meeting in Paris, last November, was referred to a subcommittee, Dr. Aage Friis, Denmark, chairman, with instruction to report on the character of the proposed review and on the means of establishing it. The other members of the subcommittee, subject to acceptance of service, are Messrs. Pirenne, Belgium, Steinacker, Austria, Lhéritier, France, and G. S. Ford, United States. The Committee also voted to create an international committee on the teaching of history, the composition of which will be announced later. Among other projects discussed by the Committee and referred to the governing board for further study were the creation of an advisory committee on historical cinema films, the compilation and publication of a collection of constitutions, a bibliography of the various colored books issued by the foreign offices of the different countries, the preparation of a new handbook of chronology, a new guide to the sources of the history of the Middle Ages, an analytical catalogue of narratives of travellers, etc. The plans for the International Congress to be held at Oslo were reported on and approved, and arrangements were made for the representation of the International Committee in the various specialized or regional congresses that may be held hereafter and for the publication of a calendar of historical congresses. The Committee was received at tea by the Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in the university library, and was entertained at dinner by the rector of the university, Dr. Meinardus. Most of the members of the Committee were received as house-guests by the professors of Göttingen and their families, and the meeting was marked by a cordial and thoughtful hospitality that made a deep impression on all who were so fortunate as to be there. The arrangements for the meeting had been carried to an unusual degree of perfection by Professor Brandi, and nothing was omitted that could insure the comfort of the members or the effectiveness of the meeting. The American delegates were Professor John S. Bassett, secretary of the American Historical Association, and Mr. Waldo G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The proceedings of the Göttingen meeting will be published in full in the third issue of the *Bulletin* of the International Committee.

The eighth meeting of the Union Académique Internationale was held in the Palais des Académies, in Brussels, on May 9-11. Fifteen countries were represented, the delegates of the American Council of Learned Societies being Professor Charles H. Beeson, University of Chicago, and Mr. Waldo G. Leland, executive secretary elect of the Council. Good progress was reported on most of the projects under way—the corpus of ancient vases, the dictionary of medieval Latin, the catalogue of alchemical manuscripts, the corpus of Greek mosaics, the survey of current bibliography, etc. Subventions of 4000 francs from the American Council of Learned Societies and of 2000 francs from the Italian Academic Union were announced, and the balance in the treasury on January 1 was re-

ported as standing at 142,244 Belgian francs. The application of the Academy of Budapest for affiliation with the U. A. I. was unanimously accepted, and a brief report was made on the progress of the correspondence undertaken by the Netherlands, Norway, and the United States with respect to the entrance of the German and Austrian academies into the Union. The vice-president, Professor Heiberg, and the secretary, Professor Bidez, whose terms expire this year, were replaced by Professor Koht, Norway, and Professor Roswadowski, Poland. The next meeting of the Union was fixed for May 21-23, 1928.

#### PERSONAL

Albert J. Beveridge, senator from Indiana 1899-1911, died on April 27, at the age of sixty-four. His public services as a senator and a party leader were of high value to the country, and were performed with public spirit, conscientiousness, intelligence, and unbounded vigor. When his service as senator ended he turned with the same extraordinary energy to literary work in the field of history. At the beginning entirely an amateur, he in the preparation of his *Life of John Marshall* (1916, 1919) acquired the arts of historical research with a completeness and skill surpassing that of almost any of the professionals. Unwearied diligence and an eloquent style made that book one of the most successful and valued of American biographies. His later years were devoted, with the same assiduity and concentration, to the preparation of a life of Lincoln, to which he brought, besides the diligence and uprightness of the historian, an exceptional experience of political life in the Middle West. It is understood that two volumes, bringing the narrative to 1860, were left by him nearly ready for publication. Despite his devotion to the task, Senator Beveridge consented to serve, and during the last sixteen months of his life served energetically and resourcefully, as chairman of the American Historical Association's Committee on Endowment. The canvass has been greatly indebted to his enthusiasm and his wide knowledge of men. His affection for the society, his obvious enjoyment of its meetings, his *bonhomie*, and the vigor and interest of his conversation drew many members to him with warm feelings of friendship, and cause his loss to be keenly felt.

No historian can hope to do so much for history as has been done by Henry E. Huntington through the upbuilding of his marvellous library and the munificent endowment which in his last months he associated with it. His death (May 23, aet. 77) should therefore be chronicled in these pages with the warmest recognition of his public spirit and of the great benefits to American history which are destined to flow from it. A similar tribute of gratitude should be paid to the memory of the genial and friendly Edward E. Ayer of Chicago (d. May 3, aet. 86), whose noble collection of Americana, printed and manuscript, after being for many years shared freely with scholars, went years before his death to increase the riches of the Newberry Library.

Mrs. Washington E. Connor (Jeannette Thurber Connor) died on June 10. Her death was a sad loss to many friends, and especially to the members of the Florida State Historical Society, in whose foundation, and all its subsequent work, she had borne a foremost part. Her *Pedro de Menéndez Avilés* (1923), the first volume of her *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida* (1925), and her *Jean Ribaut* (1927) were but the beginning of what promised to be a long and most valuable series of documentary volumes for the history of Florida, edited with learning, enthusiasm, and affectionate care.

Dr. Isaac S. Harrell, assistant professor of history in New York University, died on May 16, at the early age of thirty-two. His book on *Loyalism in Virginia*, published last year, was highly commended, and he was regarded as one of the most promising of our younger students and teachers.

Hugh E. Egerton, fellow of All Souls College, who from 1905 to 1920 was Beit professor of colonial history in the University of Oxford, died on May 21, at the age of seventy-two. He was a recognized master of the history of the British colonies, and in knowledge of the history of the United States no other Englishman equalled him. His *Short History of British Colonial Policy*, first published in 1897, has passed to its sixth edition, his *Origin and Growth of the English Colonies* (1902) to its third. Among his other volumes may be noted his *Federations and Unions within the British Empire* (1911, 1924) and his *British Colonial Policy in the Twentieth Century* (1922). All his books were marked by fullness of knowledge, clear thought, and sound judgment.

Professor A. F. Pribram of the University of Vienna will be a lecturer in history in Harvard University for the year 1927-1928.

Professor George H. Blakeslee of Clark University has received appointment as "visiting Carnegie professor of international relations" to universities in Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. He has leave of absence from Clark University for the first semester of the coming year and, after attending the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu, July 15-29, will sail to New Zealand.

Professor George E. Woodbine has been appointed to the newly established George Burton Adams professorship of medieval history in Yale University.

Professor Lynn Thorndike of Columbia University will spend the summer abroad, working in various European libraries.

Professor David M. Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University, has leave of absence for the academic year 1927-1928, which he will spend in study and research in ancient history, spending a large portion of the year in Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. Professor Raymond Turner will spend the summer in London and Oxford continuing his search for materials on the Privy Council.

Dr Thomas P. Oakley, of Hardin College, Missouri, goes to Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, as acting professor of European history for the year 1927-1928.

Professor Homer C. Hockett, of Ohio State University, has leave of absence for several months, for the completion of a constitutional history of the United States.

In the University of Chicago Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, for many years head of the department of history, has resigned his administrative position, but will continue his teaching. Professor William E. Dodd has been made chairman of the department. Professor Ferdinand Schevill has retired from active teaching, and will occupy himself in investigation and writing. Dr. Dorn will be absent on leave during the whole of the academic year 1927-1928, working in Europe toward a book on Frederick the Great. Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt will be on leave of absence in Europe from January to September, continuing his studies of the causes of the World War.

Professor Guernsey Jones of the University of Nebraska was able to return to his teaching the second semester.

Professor Frederick J. Turner, formerly of Wisconsin and Harvard universities, has been engaged by Professor Farrand to assist in an advisory capacity in the work of the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Gabriel, Calif.

We note the following promotions and appointments: *Harvard University*, W. K. Boyd of Duke University to be lecturer in history for the next semester in the absence of Professor Schlesinger, J. P. Baxter and W. L. Langer to be assistant professors of history; *Yale University*, H. C. Bell of Wesleyan University to be visiting professor of English history, L. W. Labaree, D. W. Owen, and DeForest Van Slyck to be assistant professors of history; *Cornell University*, Allan Nevins to be professor of American history; *Hamilton College*, E. B. Graves to be assistant professor of history; *Columbia University*, D. R. Fox to be professor; *Princeton University*, E. A. Beller and J. E. Pomfret to be assistant professors; *University of Pennsylvania*, A. P. Watts of Harvard University to be assistant professor of European history; *Temple University* (Phila.), A. N. Cook of Princeton University to be assistant professor of history; *Duke University*, L. M. Sears, on leave of absence from Purdue University, to be professor of history; *Vanderbilt University*, Curtis H. Walker to be professor of European history; *University of Chicago*, Einar Joranson to be associate professor and W. L. Dorn, Frances E. Gillespie, and W. T. Hutchinson to be assistant professors, W. W. Sweet of De Pauw University to be professor of the history of American Christianity; *Colorado College*, J. C. Russell to be associate professor; *University of California*, C. E. Chapman to be professor of Hispanic-American history, P. B. Schaeffer of the University of Ohio to be assistant professor of European history.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted in addition to those mentioned in our last two numbers: Professor W. T. Morgan of Indiana University is to teach in Boston University; Professor Theodore Collier of Brown University in Clark University; Professors F. H. Hodder of the University of Kansas and Donald McFayden of Washington University in Cornell University; Professors G. A. Wood of Lake Forest College (Ill.) and Lane Lancaster of Wesleyan University in Pennsylvania State College; Professors J. D. Hicks of the University of Nebraska and A. C. Wilgus of the University of South Carolina in George Washington University; Professor M. L. Bonham, jr., of Hamilton College in the North Carolina College for Women; Professor L. M. Sears of Purdue University in Duke University the second term; Professor Edgar H. McNeal is to return to the University of Ohio; Professor Loren H. MacKinney of Louisiana State University is to teach in the University of Illinois; Professor T. C. Gronert of Wabash College in Indiana University; Professor R. L. Meriwether of the University of South Carolina in the University of Tennessee; Professors A. S. Aiton of the University of Michigan, A. O. Craven of the University of Illinois, L. R. Gottschalk of the University of Louisville, L. H. Jenks of Rollins College, W. E. Lunt of Haverford College, J. G. Randall of the University of Illinois, and Carl Wittke of Ohio State University in the University of Chicago; Professor L. F. Hill of Ohio University in the University of Michigan; Professors H. S. Lucas of the University of Washington and E. M. Violette of the Louisiana State University in the University of Minnesota; Professors W. M. Gewehr of Denison University, R. C. McGrane of the University of Cincinnati, and L. M. Sears of Purdue University in the University of Nebraska; Professors E. C. Barker of the University of Texas, J. S. Buchanan of the University of Oklahoma, and A. H. Sweet of Washington and Jefferson College in the University of Colorado; Dr. Joseph Schafer of the Wisconsin State Historical Society in the University of Oregon; Professor C. R. Fish of the University of Wisconsin in Stanford University; Professor D. M. Robinson of Johns Hopkins University in the University of California; and Professor J. H. Latané of Johns Hopkins University in the University of Southern California.

#### GENERAL

General review: Henri Lévy-Bruhl, *Histoire du Droit, 1918-Juillet 1926* (Revue Historique, March).

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published vol. I. of *An Introduction to the History of Science*, by Dr. George Sarton. This volume covers the period from the earliest times of ancient history to Omar Khayyam. The Williams and Wilkins Company of Baltimore will sell such copies of this book as are not required by the Institution for free distribution. Announcement is also made that the second volume of Dr. Victor S. Clark's *History of Manufactures in the United States*, con-



tinuing from 1860 his volume previously published by the Institution, will be issued during the coming year. The Carnegie Institution of Washington will be prepared to present copies to libraries which received the first volume.

The Pulitzer prize of \$2000 for the best book of the year 1926 upon the history of the United States has been awarded by the Columbia University School of Journalism to Professor Samuel F. Bemis's *Pinckney's Treaty*; the prize of \$1000 for "the best American biography touching patriotic and unselfish service to the people, illustrated by an eminent example, excluding as too obvious the names of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln", was awarded to Emory Holloway's *Whitman: an Interpretation in Narrative*.

Translations of several volumes in the series *L'Évolution de l'Humanité* have been published in the British series *The History of Civilization* (London, Broadway House; New York, Knopf), namely: C. Huart, *Ancient Persia and Iranian Civilization* (French original reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI. 301); A. de Ridder and W. Deonna, *Art in Greece* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX. 122); L. Homo, *Primitive Italy* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX. 847); A. Grenier, *The Roman Spirit in Religion, Thought, and Art* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI. 159); and J. Declareuil, *Rome, the Law-Giver*. Into their British series the publishers have also brought, from Renard's series, *Hist. Universelle du Travail*, translations of Paul Louis's *Ancient Rome at Work*, and of P. Boissonnade's *Life and Work of Medieval Europe*; likewise C. G. Cumston's *History of Medicine from the Time of the Pharaohs to the End of the Eighteenth Century*.

In the April number of the *Historical Outlook* Professor Edgar Dawson discusses the question Why Social Studies? and Dr. N. G. Goodman relates the history of the Extension of the Franchise to Women. In the May number appears Professor Harry Elmer Barnes's paper on the Essentials of the New History, read at the Rochester meeting of the American Historical Association.

The Oxford University Press is about to publish a volume of *Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, to which more than a score of distinguished historians have contributed. It is also about to publish a volume of *Essays in Aegean Archaeology* presented to Sir Arthur Evans, written by a number of his friends, and concerned with those branches of archaeological research in which he has been so distinguished a figure.

The January *Bulletin* of the John Rylands Library contains a paper, marked we should say by a good deal of conjecture, on the Apostle Thomas in South India, by Dr. J. N. Farquhar, and one, highly ingenious in its discussion of place-names, but also not without a conjectural element, on Further Traces of Hittite Migration, by Dr. J. Rendel Harris. A treatise against the Melchites, by Barsalibi, Jacobite (d. 1171), is printed in English translation by A. Mingana, and also in facsimile of the Syriac.



The thirty-fifth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society will be held on November 23 and 24 at Newark, N. J.

*The Study of War for Statesmen and Citizens*, edited by Major-General Sir George Aston, embodies lectures delivered in the University of London, 1925-1926. There is an introductory address by Viscount Grey of Fallodon (Longmans).

*The Evolution of War: a Marxian Study*, by Emanuel Kanter, is published in Chicago by Charles H. Kerr and Company.

*Social Factors in Medical Progress*, by Bernhard J. Stern, is no. 287 of the Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

In a pamphlet printed in Russian, but with an English summary, *Phizicheskie Phaktori Istoricheskogo Prochessa*, "Physical Factors of the Historical Process" (pp. 72), A. Tchijevsky of Kaluga puts forth a sketch and theory of the influence of cosmic factors upon the behavior of organized human masses and the general historical process.

*The History of the Feminine Costume of the World*, in two volumes, by Paul Louis De Giafferi, is published by Foreign Publications, Inc., 47 West 47th Street, New York.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle has written *The History of Spiritualism*, in two volumes (New York, Doran).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. E. Barnes, *The Essentials of the New History* (Historical Outlook, May); Col. J. F. C. Fuller, *The Influence of Armour from Alexander to Joan of Arc* (Army Quarterly, April); W. G. Perrin, *The Prime Meridian* (Mariner's Mirror, April).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: Paul Cloché, *Histoire Grecque [ancient] 1922-1925* (Revue Historique, January).

In *L'Art et la Religion des Hommes Fossiles*, by G. H. Luquet (Paris, Masson, 1926, pp. 231), the reader will find both a description and a theory of the origins of primitive art.

Materials for scholarship are furnished by Paul Collart's publication of *Les Papyrus Bouriant*, 63 Greek papyri from Egypt, belonging to the collection of the University of Paris, 58 being unpublished (Paris, Champion, 1927, pp. 250).

Dr. G. Contenau, who since 1914 has been general director of all French excavations in Syria, sums up in a manual entitled *La Civilisation Phénicienne* (Paris, Payot), in masterly fashion, clearly and concisely, and with many illustrations, what is now known of Phoenician art, religion, agriculture, navigation, commerce, writing, and exterior relations.

The Gifford Lectures delivered by Sir William Ramsay in 1915-1916, modified somewhat by years of further study, are now published under the title *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization* (London, Murray).

The lectures of Professor John L. Myres, delivered on the Bennett Foundation at Wesleyan University, 1925-1926, have been published by the Abingdon Press with the title *The Political Ideas of the Greeks, with special reference to Early Notions about Law, Authority, and Natural Order in relation to Human Ordinance*.

The Loeb Classical Library (Putnam) has finished its issue of Polybius by the issue of the sixth volume, and has brought out four volumes (of eight) of Strabo, the fourth (of thirteen) of Livy, the first (of eight) of Josephus, and the first (of two) of Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, translated by Professor Kirsopp Lake of Harvard.

Professor Luigi Pareti of Florence, after long researches, intends to put forth in several volumes a work dealing with the whole cycle of Etruscan civilization from prehistoric times down to the decadence of Etruscan power. The first volume, lately published, is on *Le Origini Etrusche* (Florence, Bemporad).

Professor Tenney Frank has brought out, through the Johns Hopkins Press, a new and enlarged edition of his *Economic History of Rome* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 309), which includes the history of the Empire through the fourth century A. D. The additional 209 pages (chapters IX., X., XVIII.-XXII.) deal with the history of the provinces and its effect on Rome, rather than with the city of Rome to which the sixteen chapters of the first edition were devoted. There are a few additions to the original chapters, the longest being three pages on the racial inheritance of the Latins, inserted in chapter I. Chapter XVI. of the 1920 edition, on the Exhaustion of the Soil, has been omitted.

V. Chapot, professor in the École des Beaux-Arts, has written for Henri Berr's *Bibliothèque de Synthèse Historique*, a survey of *Le Monde Romain*, covering all the countries on the Mediterranean littoral, besides central and eastern Europe (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1927, pp. 503).

In a thoughtful and discriminating dissertation, *A Study of the Causes of Rome's Wars from 343 to 265 B. C.* (Princeton, pp. 69), Dr. J. W. Spaeth, jr., now assistant professor in Brown University, examines the fundamental causes (almost always political) and the more immediate occasions of the wars preceding the complete subjection of Italy south of the Apennines—the wars against the Samnites, the Latins, the Etruscans, the Gauls, and Tarentum.

Gabriel Lepointe proposes to consider in two volumes the life of Quintus Mucius Scaevola, consul in 95 B. C., proconsul in Asia and author of a great treatise in eighteen books on the civil law. The first volume (Paris, Tenin, 1926, pp. 134) discusses his career and his theories of pontifical law; the second will deal with his conception of the civil law.

The Princeton University Press has brought out *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, by the late Professor F. F. Abbott and M. A. C. Johnson.

Beiheft XIX. of *Klio* consists in a facsimile reproduction of the *Monumentum Antiochenum; die Neugefundene Aufzeichnung der Res Gestae Divi Augusti in Pisidischen Antiochia*, accompanied by a critical commentary by Professors William M. Ramsay of Edinburgh and Anton von Premerstein of Marburg (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1927, pp. 121, 15 tab.). An English edition was published last year by Professor D. M. Robinson of the Johns Hopkins University (*American Journal of Philology*, XLVII. 1).

A quarter of a century after completion of his definitive edition of Dio Cassius, Boissvain offers as vol. IV., an *Index Historicus* to that historian's works, prepared with great exactness by Heinrich Smilda (Weidmann, Berlin, 1926, pp. 706).

Hitherto, the religion of the Roman hearth before the imperial period has been inadequately known. The Delos discoveries make it possible to go back a full century toward the origin of beliefs, later profoundly changed. They are described by Marcel Bulard in *La Religion Domestique dans la Colonie Italienne de Délos d'après les Peintures Murales et les Autels*, fasc. 131 of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (Paris, Boccard, 1927, pp. viii, 548).

Based on the rich store of inscriptions brought by E. Glaser from inner Arabia in the latter part of the last century, Dr. Ditlef Nielsen of Copenhagen is projecting a three-volume *Handbuch der Altarabischen Altertumskunde*. Vol. I., *Der Altarabische Kultur*, has now appeared, containing articles on the history, life, archaeology, and religion of southern Arabia by Professors Fr. Hommel of Munich, N. Rhodokanakis of Graz, Adolf Grohmann of Prague, and Dr. Nielsen respectively (Copenhagen, Busck; Paris, Geuthner; Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1927, pp. viii, 272).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. C. MacLeod, *Trade Restrictions in Early Society* (*American Anthropologist*, April-June); G. Vinaccia, *Alcune Considerazioni sull' Arte Paleolitica Europea* (*Nuova Antologia*, April 1); D. M. Robinson, *The Discovery of a Prehistoric Site at Sizma [Asia Minor]* (*American Journal of Archaeology*, second ser., XXXI. 1); Kurt Sethe, *Die Jahresrechnung unter Ramses II. und der Namenswechsel dieses Königs* (*Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LXII. 2); Theodor Dombart, *Der Stand des Babelturmpblems* (*Klio*, XXI. 2); Luigi Pareti, *Nuovi Orientamenti circa l'Importanza Storica e la Missione Culturale degli Etruschi* (*Nuova Antologia*, February 16); Ettore Pais, *Lo Svolgersi della Costituzione e delle Attività Politiche a Cartagine ed in Roma* (*ibid.*, March 1); Walter Judeich, *Cannae* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXVI. 1); James Wall, *The Mystery Religions* (*Quarterly Review*, April); M. Ites, *Zur Bewertung des Agathias* (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXVI. 3-4).

## EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Professor George F. Moore of the Harvard Divinity School has summarized the results of thirty years' study in a work entitled, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: the Age of the Tannaim*, to be published in two volumes by the Harvard University Press.

The announcements of the S. P. C. K. include another edition of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, translated with introduction and notes by Dean H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton.

The late Monseigneur Louis Duchesne left at his death, nearly completed, the manuscript of an important volume on *L'Église au VI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, Fontemoing, pp. viii, 668), edited for publication by Dom H. Quentin, which forms in a way a fourth or additional volume to the author's celebrated *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Maximin Deloche, *Le Christianisme en Poitou au II<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, April); Paul Monceaux, *Paul de Samosate* (*Journal des Savants*, February); E. Tobac, *L'Édition Critique de la Vulgate* (*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April); H. Delehaye, *Hagiographie et Archéologie Romaines*, I. (*Analecta Bollandiana*, XLIV. 3-4).

## MEDIEVAL HISTORY

*Speculum* for April has an important historical article by Professor Lynn Thorndike on the Survival of Medieval Intellectual Interests into Early Modern Times, based upon the interesting paper which he read at the Rochester meeting of the American Historical Association.

The second volume of N. Iorga's *Essai de Synthèse de l'Histoire de l'Humanité*, dealing with the *Histoire du Moyen Age*, has now appeared (Paris, Gamber, 1927, pp. 572). The two remaining volumes are promised early in the current year.

We have mentioned on a previous occasion the expectation that the French version of Professor Pirenne's little book on *Medieval Cities: their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, published in English by the Princeton University Press, would be forthcoming. It has now been published: *Les Villes du Moyen Age: Essai d'Histoire Économique et Sociale* (Brussels, Lamertin, pp. 206).

After an intermission of nine years the *Monumenta Palaeographica*, which Anton Chroust began to publish in 1897, are to be resumed and completed. The work, which embraces specimens of the medieval art of writing, both in Latin and in German, is to receive a third series, including three volumes of eight fascicles each. During the current year three fascicles will appear, containing especially examples of the north German schools (Leipzig, Harrassowitz).

The second of the *Benedictine Historical Monographs* published by St. Anselm's Priory at Washington is a pamphlet of 76 pages on *St. Boniface and St. Virgil*, by Rev. Francis S. Betten, S.J., dealing with the question of the knowledge of the sphericity of the earth in the time of St. Boniface and the attitude toward that subject of the saint, of Pope Zachary, and of other authorities of the time.

The Oxford University Press has published this spring Dr. Reginald Lane Poole's edition of the *Historia Pontificalis* of John of Salisbury.

The Belgian Historical Institute in Rome has nearly ready for publication vol. I. of the *Lettres d'Urbain V.*, a volume of more than 1000 pages, comprising nearly 2000 letters of the first four years of this pontificate, 1362-1366.

In *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'Opinion Française depuis la Guerre de Cent Ans jusqu'à la Fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Georges Ascoli essays the interesting task of extracting from contemporary writings a body of opinion on their neighbor across the narrow seas. The book forms part of the *Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille* (Paris, Gamber, 1927, pp. 356).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. G. Coulton, *The Inquisition Once More* (Edinburgh Review, April); W. Holtzmann, *Papst Alexander III. und Ungarn* (Ungarische Jahrbücher, December); H. Delehay, *Les Lettres d'Indulgence Collectives*, I. (Analecta Bollandiana, XLIV. 3-4); Roger Doucet, *Les Finances Anglaises en France à la Fin de la Guerre de Cent Ans, 1413-1435* (Le Moyen Age, XXVII.).

#### MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

By arrangement with the (English) Historical Association the office of this journal has been supplied with a hundred copies of *A Short Bibliography of Modern European History, 1709-1926*, by Drs. Harold Temperley and Lillian M. Penson, being no. 68 of the leaflets of that Association. Of this brief bibliography (pp. 16) a copy will be sent to any member of the American Historical Association who applies for it, so long as the stock lasts.

The Macmillan Company has published *The Life, Character, and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, derived from a Study of his Works and Correspondence*, in two volumes, by John Joseph Mangan, M.D.

Most historians of Franco-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century have limited themselves to political matters. This can not be said of the excellent work by S. Elzinga, *Het Voorspel van den Oorlog van 1672; de Economisch-Politieke Betrekkingen tusschen Frankrijk en Nederland in de Jaaren 1660-1672* (Haarlem, Willing, 1926, pp. xxiv, 311).

The Broadway House (Routledge and Kegan Paul) announces for this spring three new volumes in its series of *Broadway Travellers*, edited

by Sir Denison Ross and Miss Eileen Power: *The Diary of Henry Teonge*, chaplain in the royal navy in the time of Charles II. (1675-1679); *Memoirs of an Eighteenth-Century Footman*, of the life and travels of John Macdonald in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1745-1779; and Lescarbot's *Nova Francia*. The first two were first printed in 1825 and in 1790, respectively, and never since reprinted.

Émile Henriot has written for *Récits d'Autrefois* an account of the friendship between *Voltaire et Frédéric II.* (Paris, Hachette, 1927).

Professor R. M. McElroy's lectures given on the Sir George Watson Foundation are to be published under the title of *The Pathway to Peace: an Interpretation of some British-American Crises.*

The drama of European politics as seen through the eyes of successive British ambassadors at Paris from 1814 to the present time is presented in Beckles Willson's *The Paris Embassy* (London, Benn).

A learned study of *Die Päpstliche Diplomatie unter Leo XIII.* has been made by Ulrich Stutz on the basis of the important and hitherto unused memoirs of Cardinal Domenico Ferrata, papal nuncio in Paris, later member of various congregations and commissions in Rome, and, for a month before his death, secretary of state under Benedict XV. (*Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1925; Berlin, Gruyter, 1926, pp. 154).

Professor Harold S. Quigley of the University of Minnesota has prepared for students and other readers a brief survey of the work of the League of Nations and the various institutions connected with it, and has added the documents likely to be most useful to the teacher of contemporary international organization, in a manual entitled *From Versailles to Locarno* (University of Minnesota Press, pp. 170).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Max Braubach, *Frankreichs Rheinlandpolitik im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, V. 2); Albert Pingaud, *La Politique Italienne de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>* (*Revue Historique*, January); Pietro Silva, *La Politica di Napoleone III. in Italia*, I. (*Nuova Rivista Storica*, January-April); Henri de Manneville, *La Mission de M. de Gobineau en Grèce, 1864-1868* (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XLI. 2); E. Conte Corti alle Catene, *Bismarck und Italien am Berliner Kongress, 1878* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIII. 4); Fr. Frahm, *England und Russland in Bismarcks Bündnispolitik* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, V. 3); E. N. Johnson and J. D. Bickford, *The Contemplated Anglo-German Alliance, 1890-1901* (*Political Science Quarterly*, March); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, XXXIII.-XXXVI. (*Nouvelle Revue*, March 1-April 15); Jacques Ancel, *Le Duel Isvolski-d'Aehrenthal, 1908-1909* (*Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire Moderne*, March); Ernst Kabisch, *Die Militär- und Marinekonventionen der Triple-Entente vor dem Ausbruch des Weltkrieges* (*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, April); Wolfgang Foerster, *Die Deutsch-Italienische Militärkonvention [1914]* (*ibid.*, May).

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## THE WORLD WAR

The task of those engaged in research on the World War will be lightened by the publication of a *Catalogue Méthodique des Fonds Britannique et Nord Américain de la Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre*, vols. I., II., compiled by Maurice Bourgeois (Paris, Costes, 1927, pp. 160, 120).

One of the most important volumes in the Carnegie Foundation's *Economic and Social History of the World War* is Joseph Redlich's *Oesterreichische Regierung und Verwaltung im Weltkrieg* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925, pp. 302). To be cited are also, in the Belgian series, *Le Secours de Chomage en Belgique pendant l'Occupation Allemande*, by Ernest Mahaim, former minister (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1927, pp. xii, 324), and in the French series, *L'Afrique du Nord pendant la Guerre*, by Professor Augustin Bernard of the University of Paris (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. xx, 164), and *De la Lutte contre la Cherté par les Organisations Privées*, by Professor Charles Gide of the Collège de France and M. Daudé-Bancel (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. xii, 76).

The third volume of the British official *History of the Great War*, by Brig.-Gen. J. E. Edmonds and Capt. G. C. Wynne, lately published (Macmillan), narrates the military operations in France and Belgium during the winter of 1914-1915 and the battles of Neuve Chapelle and Ypres, and describes the development of organization and supply up to the formation of the Ministry of Munitions.

The historical series of the French general staff, in its narrative of *Les Armées Françaises dans la Grande Guerre*, has reached vol. III., *Les Offensives de 1915; l'Hiver de 1915-1916, 1<sup>er</sup> Mai 1915-21 Février 1916* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1927).

One of the recent studies on special aspects of the World War is *Le Procès de Salonique, Juin 1917*, by M. Boghitchevitch (Paris, Delpeuch, 1927, pp. 168).

Lieut.-Comm. John Irving, R. N., retired, has prepared *Coronel and the Falklands*, a documented study of both battles, published in London by Philpot.

*The Truth about Jutland*, by Rear-Admiral J. E. T. Harper (London, John Murray), is a critical professional commentary, in moderate compass, upon the known facts of the Battle of Jutland.

Dr. Carl Bergmann, German economic expert of high position, is the author of *The History of Reparations* (London, E. Benn), a work published with a preface by Sir Josiah Stamp, and having exceptionally high value.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Die Narodna Odbrana* [reprint of Serbian pamphlet, translated] (*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, March); Paul Herre, *Italiens Rolle in der Kriegsschuldfrage* (*ibid.*, April); *Die Griechischen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch* (*ibid.*, March); Emil Daniels,



*Konnte August 1914 in Frankreich Gesiegt Worden?* (Preussische Jahrbücher, February); Werner Rust, *Die Strategischen Grundlagen der Yserschlacht* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, V. 3); Joh. V. Bredt, *Die Marineunruhen 1917* (Preussische Jahrbücher, April); Paul Chack, *Sur les Bancs de Flandre*, I.-V. (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1-May 1); Capt. T. G. Frothingham, U. S. R., *The Entrance of the United States into the World War* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, April); Clive Day, *War Shocks to European Commerce* (Foreign Affairs, July).

#### GREAT BRITAIN

General review: J. Loth, *L'Archéologie et la Linguistique dans le Pays de Galles*, I., 1921-1923 (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVII. 3-4).

A General Index to vols. XXXI.-XL. of the *English Historical Review* (1916-1925) has been published by Longmans, Green, and Company.

In 1920 Professor Henri Prentout of the University of Caen published an intelligent and fair-minded general *Histoire l'Angleterre*. A new and revised edition has now been published (Paris, Hachette, pp. xii, 497, 692) in two volumes, extending however no farther than the end of 1918.

J. Turrall has brought out through the Clarendon Press (Oxford, 1926) a new edition, with slight changes, of his *Select Source-Book of British History*, illustrating life, laws, and letters, from 55 B. C. to A. D. 1878. As its title indicates the book illustrates from contemporary literature the life of the "dim multitudes".

The British Academy has added to its series of *Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales* a sixth volume, relating to a more modern period than its predecessors, *The Account Book of a Kentish Estate, 1616-1704*, edited by Miss Eleanor C. Lodge, and comprising the accounts of the estate of Godinton near Ashford, kept by proprietors named Nicholas Toke, uncle and nephew. This will be followed by a volume devoted to *Records of the English Templars*, edited by Miss Beatrice A. Lees.

Messrs. Putnam have included in the *Everyday Life* series *Everyday Life in Anglo-Saxon, Viking, and Norman Times*, by Marjorie and Charles H. B. Quennell.

The Selden Society expects to publish soon, under the editorial care of Professor F. de Zulueta, the *Liber Pauperum* of Vacarius, the manual of Roman law which that civilian compiled in connection with the lectures he gave at Oxford in 1149.

The ninth volume in the series of *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* will be a volume on *The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia*, by David C. Douglas (Oxford University Press).

The Cambridge University Press will publish before long a volume, illustrated with 44 collotype plates, on *English Court Hand, 1390-1620*, by Hilary Jenkinson of the Public Record Office.

The *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research for February has papers by Professor J. F. Baldwin of Vassar College on the Chancery of the Duchy of Lancaster, and by Professor Bertha H. Putnam of Mt. Holyoke on (commissions of) Justices of the Peace from 1588 to 1688.

*A Quaker Saint of Cornwall: Loveday Hambly and Her Guests* (Longmans, pp. xvi, 236), by L. V. Hodgkin (Mrs. John Holdsworth), is an interesting contribution to the history of the rise of Quakerism in Cornwall and its progress during the life of George Fox and his immediate friends, the central figure being the widow Loveday Hambly of Tregangeeves, whose history Mrs. Holdsworth has elaborated with affectionate care. The book (which has a few beautiful illustrations) will primarily interest the Society of Friends, but there are many, and might well be more, who find a pleasant savor in the early Quaker writings and occasions for high admiration in the early Quaker story.

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, on the basis of characteristically thorough researches in the period from 1660 to 1834, have brought out *English Poor Law History*, part I., *The Old Poor Law* (Longmans).

Mr. Algernon Cecil has published a survey of the conduct of British foreign affairs from Castlereagh's time in a volume entitled, *British Foreign Secretaries, 1806-1916: Studies in Personality and Policy* (London, Bell).

A. C. Acworth's *Financial Reconstruction in England, 1815-1822* (London, P. S. King and Son, pp. viii, 158), though a small book, is a very intelligent and useful study of an important subject.

The Oxford University Press hopes to publish during the present year a new volume of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Professor H. W. C. Davis and Mr. J. R. H. A. Weaver, and embracing those worthies who died during the years 1912-1921.

The corporation of Maidstone, Kent, has put forth a volume of *Records of Maidstone* (Maidstone, William Hobbs, pp. 303) giving a list of the records of the borough and selections from documents in the possession of the corporation, which begin chronologically with accounts of the Fraternity of Corpus Christi from 1474 to 1497, and embrace churchwardens' accounts, burghmote papers, court leet papers, session papers, deeds, etc.

The most interesting article in the *Scottish Historical Review* for April is that of Miss Marjory A. Bald on the Pioneers of Anglicized Speech in Scotland. There is also a paper by Mr. John Edwards, illustrating bonds of manrent, maintenance, and friendship by a Scottish Bond of Friendship betwixt Lord Lovat and the Captain of Clanranald, 1572; one by Arthur Birnie on Ridge Cultivation in Scotland; and a polemic but informing discourse on the official treatment of the National Records of Scotland, by Sheriff J. R. N. Macphail of Stirling and Dumbarton.

*Duncan Dewar, a Student of St. Andrews 100 Years Ago: His Accounts* (Glasgow, Jackson, Wylie and Co., pp. 189), gives a close and full picture of such a student's life, the accounts being illuminated by an interesting and minutely informed commentary by the late Sir Peter R. Scott Lang, professor of mathematics in the university.

British government publications: *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward VI., vol. V., with appendixes, 1547-1553; *Report on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue of Dropmore*, X. (Historical Manuscripts Commission).

Other documentary publications: *The Great Rolls of the Pipe of the Third and Fourth Years of Richard I.*, 1191, 1192, ed. Doris M. Stenton (Pipe Roll Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Capt. J. S. Baines, R. E., *The Roman Army in Britain* (Army Quarterly, April); Hilda Johnstone, *Everyday Life in some Medieval Records* (History, April); Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Le Roi d'Angleterre et ses Parlements au Moyen Âge* (Revue Historique, January); E. B. Demarest, "Consuetudo Regis" in Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk (English Historical Review, April); J. F. Baldwin, *Household Administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster* (ibid.); Georg Brodnitz, *Die Finanzen des Englischen Absolutismus* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, LXXXII. 2); R. D. Richards, *The Evolution of Paper Money in England* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); J. H. Hollander, *Adam Smith, 1776-1926* (Journal of Political Economy, April); A. Aspinall, *The Coalition Ministries of 1827, I. Canning's Ministry* (English Historical Review, April); H. D. Jordan, *The Political Methods of the Anti-Corn Law League* (Political Science Quarterly, March); André Maurois, *La Vie de Benjamin Disraeli*, I.-V. (Revue de Paris, February 15-April 15).

#### IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 987; for India, see p. 973.)

*Richard II. in Ireland, 1394-1395, and Submissions of the Irish Chiefs* (Clarendon Press, pp. ix, 248), by Professor Edmund Curtis of the University of Dublin, contains thirty-nine instruments—submissions and indentures—printed from manuscripts in the Public Record Office, in the original Latin, with a translation, and the larger part of thirty-six letters written to the king during his stay in Ireland by the submitting chiefs, including nearly all the principal chieftains of Ireland. An introduction traces their history up to the date of the submissions.

The *Victorian Historical Magazine* for last September has an article by Professor Ernest Scott of the University of Melbourne, of particular interest to American students, on the *Shenandoah* Incident of 1865, referring to the stay of the Confederate cruiser of that name in Port Melbourne. The number for March is chiefly marked by a biographical account of Angus McMillan, first pioneer of Gippsland, by Charles Daley.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Gregory Cleary, *St. Francis and Ireland*, II. (Studies, March).

#### FRANCE

General review: Henri Hauser, *Histoire de France; Époque Moderne jusqu'en 1660* (Revue Historique, March).

The first French Congress of the historical sciences ever held was held in Paris April 20-23. It is not practicable to describe in detail proceedings which embraced seventy-nine papers, ranging through all periods and many aspects of ancient, medieval, and modern history; but it may be permitted to mention that one of them (and the only one American in theme, and almost the only one not European) was a discourse by Mr. W. G. Leland on the Sources in France of American History. Prominent historians discussed the organization of historical work in France, and preparations for the International Congress at Oslo were considered.

An exhaustive monograph has been written by Michel Clerc, dean of the Faculty of Letters in Aix and director of the Marseilles archaeological museum, on *Massalia; Histoire de Marseille dans l'Antiquité des Origines à la Fin de l'Empire Romain d'Occident, 476 A. D.* (Marseilles, Tacussel, 1927, 2 vols., pp. 482, 500); vol. I. has been published, vol. II. is expected in a short time.

A fresh contribution to the literature of the patron saint of Roman Gaul, marked by both charm and scholarship, has been made by Paul Monceaux, *Saint Martin, Récits de Sulpice-Sévère mis en Français avec une Introduction* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 242).

The Oxford University Press is bringing out a translation in two volumes of Gregory of Tours's *History of the Franks*, with introduction and notes by O. M. Dalton.

A translation of the *Autobiography of Guibert, Abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy*, by C. C. S. Bland, has been published in the series of *Broadway Translations* (London, Kegan Paul; New York, Dutton).

Up to 1924, no general history of Paris had been attempted for many years. At that time, the first volume of Marcel Poète's *Une Vie de Cité; Paris, de sa Naissance à nos Jours* appeared. Another important book, laying greater emphasis on the political standpoint, has since been published, the *Histoire de Paris* by Lucien Dubech and Pierre d'Espezel (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 511). Now comes the second volume of Poète's elaborate work, covering *La Cité de la Renaissance, du Milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> à la Fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, Picard, 1927, pp. 338).

A richly-documented life of *Antonio Caracciolo, Évêque de Troyes, 1515?-1570*, bishop, soldier, Protestant, and diplomat in turn, has been written by Joseph Roserot de Melin from the archives of Paris, Troyes, Rome, and elsewhere (Paris, Letouzey, pp. liii, 446).

Mr. A. A. Knopf has done a useful service by publishing an English translation of Professor Henri Sée's *La France Économique et Sociale au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, reviewed in this journal (XXI. 351)—*Economic and Social Conditions in France during the 18th Century*. Meanwhile Messrs. Putnam have published *French Society in the Eighteenth Century*, by Louis Ducros, in translation.

Two monographs by E. Carcassonne, *Montesquieu et le Problème de la Constitution Française au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1927, pp. xvi, 738), and *Écrits Inédits de Mlle. de Lézardière* (Paris, 1927, pp. 496), are announced by Les Presses Universitaires.

*Zwischen Nationalismus und Demokratie; Gestalten der Französischen Vorrevolution*, by Eva Hoffmann-Linke, forms Beiheft 9 of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1927, pp. 324).

Students of the period will receive with interest the announcement of a third volume in the history of the French Revolution by Albert Mathiez, covering *La Terreur* (Paris, Colin, 1927, pp. 224).

Émile Gabory, who has written much on the counter-revolution, continues his important study of *La Révolution et la Vendée d'après des Documents Inédits* with a second volume, *La Vendée Militante et Souffrante* (Paris, Perrin, 1927).

The memoirs of Gaudin, duc de Gaëte, Napoleon's great minister of finance, have been republished by Armand Colin in photographic facsimile of the first edition, that of 1826-1834 (*Les Mémoires du Duc de Gaëte*, 3 vols., Paris, 1926). It will be recalled that the most important part of this work is the "Notice Historique sur les Finances de France de l'an VIII au 1<sup>er</sup> avril, 1814", which is in volume I. Volume II. is mainly composed of pamphlets and speeches belonging to the period of the Restoration. The memoirs in the ordinary meaning of the word are partly in volume I., partly in the supplementary volume III.

The *Mémoires de la Reine Hortense* may soon be had in book form; they are to be published in three volumes with notes by Jean Hanoteau, vols. I. and II. being now available (Paris, Plon, 1927, pp. 400, 400). At the same moment, Joseph Turquan adds a second volume to his *La Reine Hortense* (Paris, Tallandier, 1927, pp. 224), which may serve as a foil to the memoirs.

A recent book in the field of economic history is the *Histoire de la Classe Ouvrière en France depuis la Révolution jusqu'à nos Jours* by Paul Louis (Paris, Rivièrre, 1927, pp. 416).

A useful manual by G. Bourgin, *Les Sources Manuscrites de l'Histoire Religieuse de la France Moderne* (Paris, Letouzey, pp. ix, 144) gives a detailed list of materials in archives, preceded by a dissertation on the history of the Catholic, Protestant, Israelite, and Mohammedan organizations in France.

A new volume in the excellent series *Histoire de France racontée à Tous*, edited by Fr. Funck-Brentano, is that on *La Troisième République* by Raymond Recouly (Paris, Hachette, 1927).

As part of the excellent collection, *Les Vieilles Provinces de France*, directed by A. Albert-Petit, G. Morizet has produced an admirable *Histoire de Lorraine* (Paris, Boivin, 1926, pp. xiv, 330).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Marc Bloch, *Observations sur la Conquête de la Gaule Romaine par les Rois Francs* (Revue Historique, March); Marcel Handelsman, *Le soi-disant Précepte de 614* (Le Moyen Age, XXVII.); L. Levillain, *Études sur l'Abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'Époque Mérovingienne*, I., II. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January-June, July-December, 1926); L. H. Labande, *La Commune de Marseille, ses Origines, son Développement jusqu'à l'Acquisition de la Seigneurie des Vicomtes*, concl. (Journal des Savants, February); Harold D. Hazeltine, *Some Aspects of French Legal History* (Quarterly Review, April); Paul Deschamps, *Les Lettres Closes au Début du XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Le Moyen Age, XXVII.); Jules Viard, *La Campagne de Juillet-Août 1346 et la Bataille de Crécy* (*ibid.*); Antoine Degert, *Louis XI. et ses Ambassadeurs* (Revue Historique, January); W. K. Ferguson, *The Place of Jansenism in French History* (Journal of Religion, January); G. Martin, *Les "Chambres Littéraires" de Nantes et la Préparation de la Révolution* (Annales de Bretagne, XXXVII. 3-4); Alfred Stern, *Briefe Konrad Engelbert Oelsners an Paul Usteri aus Paris 1795* (Preussische Jahrbücher, April); André Auzoux, *L'Expédition d'Égypte en 1801; les Projets de Bonaparte et Ganteaume* (Revue Historique, March); Jean Hanoteau, *Lettres Inédites de Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> à la Reine Hortense* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); Serge Fleury, *Mme. de Mirbel et ses Amis en 1848* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XLI. 2); J. Dontenville, *La Chute de la Royauté en 1848*, concl. (Nouvelle Revue, February 15); Comtesse D'Agoult, *Mes Souvenirs, Nouvelle Série*, I. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); B. J. Hovde, *French Socialism and Franco-German Relations* (Journal of Political Economy, April).

#### ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: Raymond Lantier, *Histoire Ancienne de la Péninsule Ibérique, 1911-1926* (Revue Historique, January).

The prefect of the Vatican Archives, Mgr. Angelo Mercati, has begun the publication of a series of guides to the use of those archives, *Sussidi per la Consultazione dell' Archivio Vaticano*, intended to give investigators in those archives a better guidance than any they have thus far received from the existing manuscript indexes, ample in size and number (658 tomes), but old-fashioned in construction and covering but parts of that enormous repository of historical material. The first volume, to be issued as fasc. 45 of the *Studi e Testi* (Rome, Vatican Library, 1926), is mainly devoted to the "Schedario Garampi", explaining its contents, defects,

gaps, and abbreviations, and in general making it more useful. This is followed by a general exposition of the Vatican and Lateran registers and the *Rationes Camerae*, and an inventory of the archives of the Consistorial Congregation, turned over to the Vatican Archives in 1907.

A handsome volume descriptive of *Le Chiese di Roma nel Medio Evo*, by Professor Christian Huelsen of Florence, has been published by Olschki of that city (1927, pp. cxvi, 640).

Messrs. Dutton have included in their *Medieval Towns* series *The Story of Naples*, by Cecil Headlam.

In *Carboneria e Massoneria nel Risorgimento Italiano; Saggio di Critica Storia* (Genoa, 1926, pp. 442), Giuseppe Leti has set forth a learned and eloquent exposition, in antithesis to the recent work of Alessandro Luzio on the same subject.

F. Quintavalle has revised and greatly enlarged his previous publications on modern Italian history to 1870, in a volume entitled *Storia dell' Unità Italiana, 1814-1914* (Milan, Hoepli, 1926, pp. 702).

A monograph and a number of unpublished letters are gathered together by Arturo Codignola under the title *La Giovinezza di G. Mazzini* (Florence, Vallecchi, 1926).

A list of *Periodicals in American Libraries for the Study of Hispanic Languages and Literatures* has been compiled by a committee of the Modern Language Association, of which Hayward Keniston was chairman, and published by the Hispanic Society of America (New York, 1927). It contains the serial publications, except newspapers, dealing with the Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan languages and literatures both in Europe and in America, including reviews and magazines of general interest, bulletins and memoirs of learned societies, as well as literary, critical, and philosophical journals. Unfortunately the holdings of the Library of Congress are not included in the list.

In addition to his labors on the *Italia Pontificia* and the *Germania Pontificia*, Professor Paul Kehr has begun in the *Abhandlungen* of the Göttingen Academy a series of preliminary publications toward a *Hispania Pontificia*, in the form of two volumes of *Papsturkunden in Spanien* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1926, pp. 585), covering the eight dioceses of the Catalan province of Tarragona, and embracing, besides learned dissertations, some 275 papal letters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Much praise is bestowed upon the *Historia de España y su Influencia en la Historia Universal* by D. Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, who has now published the first part of his fourth volume, relating to the period from Charles V. to Philip III. (Barcelona, Salvat, 1926, pp. 505).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Falco, *I Comuni della Campagna e della Marittima nel Medio Evo*, II. (*Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, XLVIII.); Gioacchino Volpe, *Aspetti del Quattro-*



*cento Italiano* (Nuova Antologia, March 16); R. de la Sizeranne, *Le Vertueux Condottière; Montefeltro, Duc d'Urbino, 1422-1482*, IV.-VI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 15-April 15); Niccolò Rodolico, *Italia ed Europa nei Primi Due Secoli dell' Età Moderna* (Nuova Antologia, February 1); Carlo Morandi, *Una Polemica sulla Libertà d'Italia a Mezzo il Seicento* (Nuova Rivista Storica, January-April); Angiolo Tursi, *Decadenza e Fine della Repubblica di Venezia* (Nuova Antologia, May 1); M. de Rubris, *Genesi e Vicende del Primo Scritto Politico di Massimo d'Azeglio*, II. (*ibid.*, February 1); Giovanni Zoppi, *Garibaldi a Brescia nel 1866* (*ibid.*, March 16); P. Kehr, *Die Aeltesten Papsturkunden Spaniens* (Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1926, 2); B. W. Wheeler, *The Portuguese Tribute to Rome, 1179-1213* (Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, VII.); *id.*, *The Papacy and Hispanic Interstate Relations, 1195-1212* (Catholic Historical Review, April); Louis Bertrand, *Sainte Thérèse*, VI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); Henri Sée, *Documents sur le Commerce de Cadix, 1691-1752*, II. (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, XV. 1); J. Torre Revello, *Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci y el Cargo de Cronista en las Indias* (Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, no. 29).

#### GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The complete series of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (folio edition) was for a long time unprocurable, as some of the volumes went out of print shortly after publication. The reprinting of the missing volumes by the photo-chemical process (*Scriptores* 2-12, 16-21 and *Leges* 1-4) has now rendered it possible to acquire the full series or to complete sets (Leipzig, Hiersemann).

Miss Maud Joynt has prepared, and the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge has published, a translation of Walafrid Strabo, *The Life of St. Gall* (pp. 188), with an introduction on the history of the abbey of St. Gall and its library.

*Die Italienische Kaiserpolitik des Deutschen Mittelalters, mit besonderem Hinblick auf die Politik Friedrich Barbarossas*, is ably discussed by Georg von Below, with a complete survey of the controversial literature on the subject, in Beiheft 10 of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1927, pp. 159). The author, as is well known, regrets the imperial Italian policy as subversive of German nationalism, following the view of the Sybel school rather than that of Ficker and Giesebrecht.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons are publishing an English translation of the *War Diary of Emperor Frederick III., 1870-1871*.

General Hans Lothar von Schweinitz, after being German military attaché in Vienna and St. Petersburg, was from 1869 to 1892 the diplomatic representative from his country in those capitals successively, and as ambassador had the highest confidence of William I. and of Bismarck.

Much importance may therefore be attributed to the two volumes of the *Denkwürdigkeiten des Botschafters General von Schweinitz*, published in Berlin by Reimar Hobbing.

Professor Erick Brandenburg's *Von Bismarck zum Weltkriege*, reviewed in this journal two years ago (XXX. 362), has been published by the Oxford University Press in an English translation, *From Bismarck to the World War: a History of German Foreign Policy, 1870-1914* (pp. xiii, 542). *Der Missverständene Bismarck*, by Otto Hammann, formerly chief of the press division of the German Foreign Office, published in 1921 and then reviewed in this journal (XXVII. 152), now appears in a translation (from the new and enlarged German edition), by Dr. Maude A. Huttman of Columbia University, under the title, *The World Policy of Germany, 1890-1912* (New York, Knopf).

Students of the Hussite movement should take account of Father A. Neumann's volume of documents for the history of the Bohemian clergy from 1330 to 1415, *Prameny k Dějinám Duchovenstva v Době Předhusitské a Husově* (Olmütz, Matice Cyrilometodějská, pp. 241) specially devoted to showing the life and condition of the clergy, Augustinian, Benedictine, Cistercian, Franciscan, Premonstratensian and secular.

Material of the utmost importance for the history of Maria Theresa's government and administrative reforms is collected in a volume published by the Commission for the Modern History of Austria (*Veröffentlichungen*, XVIII., Vienna, Holzhausen), edited by J. Kallbrunner and Melitta Winkler, extending from 1743 to 1760, and entitled, *Die Zeit des Directoriums in Publicis et Cameralibus*.

The Macmillan Company publishes in English translation *Count Berchtold's Own Story*, treating the whole period during which its author was minister of foreign affairs for Austria-Hungary.

In Band XXV. of the *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* the most important item is a long monograph (pp. 135) by Professor Emil Dürr on "Arthur de Gobineau und die Schweiz in den Jahren 1850-1854", tracing the influence of these years in Switzerland on Gobineau's doctrines respecting race, afterward so potent in Germany.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Erich Marcks, *Auf- und Niedergang im Deutschen Schicksal* (*Archiv für Politik und Geschichte*, V. 1); Georg von Below, *Die Unfreie Herkunft des Niederen Adels und ihre Beurteilung* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXV. 3); Johannes Kleinpaul, *Der Nachrichtendienst des Sächsischen Hofes vom 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Geschriebenen Zeitungen* (*Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, LXXXII. 2); Heinrich Dübi, *Die Haltung der Berner in dem Streite zwischen Georg Supersaxo und Matthäus Schiner [1490-1522]* (*Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, XXVIII. 2); Jakob Strieder, *Die Geschäfts- und Familienpolitik Jacob Fugger des Reichen* (*ibid.*); Fr. Walter, *Die Organisation*

der Staatlichen Polizei unter Kaiser Joseph II. (Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, VII.); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Das Oesterreichische Kaisertum und das Ende des Heiligen Reichs, 1804-1806*, I.-concl. (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, V. 2, 3); Albert Pražák, *Czechs and Slovaks in the Revolution of 1848* (Slavonic Review, March); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Zur Geschichte der März-tage 1848* (Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, VII.); Ludwig Dehio, *Benedict Waldeck* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXVI. 1); Karl Alexander von Müller, *Treitschke als Journalist* (*ibid.*, CXXXV. 3).

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: Henri Laurent, *Bulletin de Bibliographie Critique, le Travail d'Histoire du Moyen Âge en Belgique pendant la Décade 1915-1925* (Le Moyen Age, XXVII.).

Following the method employed by G. von Below and his pupils for Germany, I. H. Gosses, professor at Groningen, has depicted in a remarkable volume the social constitution of the county of Holland during the Middle Ages. The title reads *Welgheborenen en Huisleden; Onderzoekingen over Standen en Staat in het Graafschap Holland* (Groningen, Wolters, 1926, pp. viii, 221).

Martinus Nijhoff of the Hague has completed, some months ago, the publication of *La Miniature Hollandaise et les Manuscrits Illustrés du XIV<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle aux Pays-Bas Septentrionaux*, by Professor A. W. Bijvanck of Leyden and Dr. G. G. Hoogewerff, director of the Dutch Institute in Rome. The work consists of 106 pages of text and 240 helio-type plates, representing 597 subjects, 12 of the plates being executed in colors and gold. The text is in French. The edition (300 fl.) is limited.

A subject but little explored and of interest for the history of capitalism is B. S. Chlepner's *La Banque en Belgique; Étude Historique et Économique*, vol. I., *Le Marché Financier Belge avant 1850* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1926, pp. 429).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Reuning, *Balthasar Bekker, der Bekämpfer des Teufel- und Hexenglaubens* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XLV. 4).

#### NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Cornell University published in 1914 a *Catalogue of the Icelandic Collection bequeathed by Willard Fiske*. It now issues, in a quarto of 284 pages, a *Supplement* exhibiting the additions made from 1913 to 1926, compiled by the same competent hands as the original catalogue, those of Professor Halldór Hermannsson.

A recent Danish archaeological and geological expedition to South Greenland has discovered at Ivigo the foundations of a large cathedral, bishop's palace, and accompanying buildings.

A masterly treatise on the origins of Swedish towns, *Studier rörande det Svenska Stadsväsendets Uppkomst och äldsta Utveckling* (Stockholm, univ., 1926, pp. xxxii, 472), has been published by Dr. Adolf Schück, now docent. Along with this, attention may be called to the important archaeological dissertations on "Hedeby och Birka" (Hedeby in Slesvig and Birka on Lake Mälär) and on Slesvig and Birka which Professor Sune Lindqvist contributed to *Fornvännen*, 1926, 1 and 4, and to the same author's article, *ibid.*, 5, on the coins found at Birka, representing, whether struck there or at Hedeby, the oldest types of indigenous Scandinavian coinage.

Nos. 2-4 of the Norwegian *Historisk Tiddsskrift* consists of a body of letters and speeches of Jacob Hoel, written from or delivered in the sessions, 1818, 1821, 1822, 1833, of the Storting, in which that member—veterinary, lieutenant of dragoons, small proprietor—was an energetic leader of the rising peasant party. The volume, edited by Professor Halvdan Koht, is entitled *Fra den Gamle Bonde-Opposisjon* (Oslo, Grøn-dahl, pp. 248).

A useful summary of our knowledge of the people of Eastern Europe is given in the *Manuel de l'Antiquité Slave* by Professor Lubor Niederle of Prague; vol. II., *La Civilisation*, is now ready (Paris, Champion, 1927, pp. 360). Closely related and likewise published by the Institut d'Études Slaves, is F. Dvornik's volume on *Les Slaves, Rome, et Byzance au IX<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (*ibid.*, 1927, pp. v, 360).

A glimpse into the mind of the modern materialistic school of Russian historians is afforded by the interesting *Introduction à l'Histoire Sociale de la Russie* of Georges Plékhanof, one of the most important representatives of this school, translated by Mme. Batault-Plékhanof for the *Coll. Hist. de l'Institut d'Études Slaves* (Paris, Bossard, 1926, pp. xii, 160). It is an extract from the author's history of the social idea in Russia, whose three volumes, published in Russian, are untranslated.

A useful *Essai sur l'Histoire des Institutions Agraires de la Russie Centrale du XVI<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* has been written by Alexandre Miller, with preface by G. L. Duprat (Paris, Giard, 1926, pp. viii, 385).

The Princess Stéphanie Dolgorouki, as wife of a gentleman of the court under the last three czars, and sister-in-law of the Princess Yourievsky, morganatic wife of Alexander II., seems amply qualified to write from personal knowledge a volume of memoirs on *La Russie avant la Débâcle* (Paris, Figuière, 1927, pp. 315).

Important light on Russian history from 1905 to 1917 is cast by *The Reign of Rasputin: an Empire's Collapse*, by the late Michael Rodzianko, president of the third Duma (English translation, London, Philpot). Russian life of the preceding period is well illustrated by the *Memoirs of Baron N. Wrangel, 1847-1920* (English translation, London, Benn), father of the celebrated general of the White army, and himself an important landowner and official.

In the *European Economic and Political Survey* for March 15, published at 10, rue de l'Élysée, Paris, will be found a detailed description and summary (20 pp.) of the first eighteen volumes (1922-1926) of the *Krasni Arkhiv* (Red Archives), or collection of documents of the old régime published in Moscow by the central archives of the Soviet Union.

Stanford University Press has brought out a volume entitled *On the Trail of the Russian Famine*, by Frank A. Golder and Lincoln Hutchinson. The volume embodies the records which Professor Golder and Mr. Hutchinson made, as members of the American Relief Administration, of what they saw, heard, and felt.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ingvar Andersson, *Valdemar Atterdags Tåg mot Gotland 1361* (Fornvännen, 1926, 6); N. de Baumgarten, *Le Cause Storiche della Rivoluzione Russa* (Nuova Antologia, April 1); C. Hagberg Wright, *Nicholas II. of Russia* (Quarterly Review, April).

#### SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Under the title *Collection Byzantine* the Société d'Éditions les Belles Lettres (Paris) begins a series of Byzantine texts, with translations into French on the opposite page, of which two volumes have already appeared, the first being the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos; the second the *Correspondence* of Nicephorus Gregoras. American students of Byzantine history will certainly give to this collection a cordial welcome.

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons are publishing an English translation of *Byzantine Portraits*, by Professor Charles Diehl.

A new translation from the Latin of the *Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, the French ambassador, scholar, and traveller who visited Turkey in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent, has been published by the Oxford University Press.

J. Ancel, whose *Manuel Historique de la Question d'Orient* has already gone through two editions, seeks in *Peuples et Nations des Balkans* to establish the extent to which geography has determined their history (Paris, Colin, 1926, pp. 220).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Walther Holtzmann, *Die Ältesten Urkunden des Klosters S. Maria del Patir* [12th century] (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVI. 3-4); T. W. Riker, *The Concert of Europe and Moldavia in 1857* (English Historical Review, April).

#### ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Friction between the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Arabic Orthodox community led to the appointment by the British government in 1925 of a commission to inquire into and report upon the controversies. The report of the commissioners, Sir Anton Bertram, chief justice of Ceylon, and J. W. A. Young, formerly financial adviser to the

Orthodox Patriarchate, is published as a volume, *The Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem* (Oxford University Press, pp. 379), and contains, along with matter concerning solely the modern disputes, much carefully prepared information on the history of the Patriarchate and the relations, from the Arabic conquest down, of the Greek-speaking and Arabic-speaking Orthodox populations under its supervision.

Admiral G. A. Ballard, whose papers in the *Mariner's Mirror* have from time to time been mentioned in these pages, now brings them together in a consecutive study of the long struggle between the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English for supremacy in the Oriental seas, *Rulers of the Indian Ocean* (London, Duckworth).

Professor N. J. Krom of Leyden, formerly director of the archaeological survey of the Dutch East Indies, has published an important volume on the Hindu period in the history of Java—to the fifteenth century, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (the Hague, Nijhoff, pp. 494).

The Yale University Press has published *China and the Occident*, by George N. Steiger. The work is concerned with the origin and development of the Boxer movement.

A second edition of Professor K. S. Latourette's *Development of Japan* (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 128) has been brought out by the Macmillan Company. A few corrections have been made and chapters XI. and XII. (not X. and XI. as the preface states) on Japan taking her place among the Powers and on her internal development have been extended to include events from 1894 to 1926, instead of from 1894 to 1917. Japan in Siberia, Japan at the Peace Conference, and the Washington Conference of 1921 are among the additional subjects discussed. About a dozen titles, of books published since 1917, have been added to the bibliography.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ernst Meyer, *Alexander und der Ganges* (*Klio*, XXI. 2); Admiral G. A. Ballard, *The Last Battlefleet Struggle in the Bay of Bengal* (*Mariner's Mirror*, April); Edward Thompson, *The Suppression of Suttee in Native States* (*Edinburgh Review*, April); Bruno Bruni, *L'Apostolo Francescano della Cina; Giovanni da Montecorvino* (*Nuova Antologia*, March 16); G. W. Keeton, *The Growth and Scope of Extraterritoriality in China* (*Law Quarterly Review*, April); Capt. J. K. Taussig, U. S. N., *Experiences in China during the Boxer Rebellion* (*United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, April).

#### AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The series of volumes of *Les Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc: Dynastie Saadienne* (Paris, Leroux) has been continued by Comte Henri de Castries by the publication of two volumes of early letters and documents from the archives and libraries of England—documents English, Spanish, French, Italian, Latin, and Arabic—illustrating the history of

the Barbary Company and of the relations between England and the Moroccan sherifs from the end of the reign of Henry VIII. to the beginning of that of Charles I. Another volume is to follow.

### AMERICA

#### GENERAL ITEMS

In the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Dr. Paullin has finished both maps and letter-press of the *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* on which he has been at work for several years. The maps are prepared for reproduction by photolithography, in 134 plates about 18 by 14 inches in dimensions, embracing about 570 maps, illustrative of political, economic, social, military, and geographical history. The explanatory letter-press will constitute a substantial octavo volume. The fourth volume of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* and the third volume of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, edited by Professor Bassett, are in the printer's hands. Mr. Leland sails for America early in July, to take up his new duties as executive secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, having finished the manuscript of one volume of his *Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives and Libraries of Paris*. A second volume approaches completion, and will shortly be finished, by the aid of Mr. Parker.

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has acquired papers of Richard Lathers (1820-1903), including political letters of Calhoun; papers of John A. Procter (1890-1900), civil service commissioner; farm journals (1816-1872) of "Shirley" plantation on the James River, and additional photostats of papers of Franklin Pierce.

The Government Printing Office has lately issued a thirteenth edition of *Price List 50*, being a list of government publications relating to American history and biography for sale by the Superintendent of Documents; also a tenth edition of *Price List 24*, a list of similar character respecting Indians, mounds, and antiquities.

*The American Year Book, 1926*, edited by Professors Albert Bushnell Hart and William M. Schuyler, has come from the press (Macmillan).

Professor and Mrs. Charles A. Beard are the joint authors of a work in two volumes entitled *The Rise of American Civilization*, of which vol. I. deals with agricultural, vol. II. with industrial development. The work is illustrated by Wilfred Jones (New York, Macmillan).

Professor David S. Muzzey has brought out (Boston, Ginn) a *History of the American People*, a new work, distinct from his text-book, *The United States of America*.

The Agricultural History Society has inaugurated the publication of a quarterly journal bearing the name *Agricultural History*. The first issue,



that of January, is given over to a reprint (from the *North Carolina Historical Review*) of Professor E. M. Coulter's paper on the Movement for Agricultural Reorganization in the Cotton South during the Civil War.

The eleventh *Yearbook* of the Swedish Historical Society of America presents a monograph by Professor T. C. Blegen, accompanied by illustrative documents, on Minnesota's Campaign for Immigrants, especially in the 'sixties and 'seventies of the last century; an "America Letter" of 1849, by one Steffan Steffanson, with translation; a review of various Swedish emigrant guide-books of 1853-1894, by R. W. Swanson; and an account of educational work among the Swedish Baptists in America by Rev. Professor Adolf Olson.

The *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, vol. XXV., contains, among other things, a number of historical articles, chiefly by Michael J. O'Brien, who presents data on Irish schoolmasters in the American colonies, Irish pioneers in New Hampshire and Virginia, and the Irish in Charleston. The history of the Hibernian Society in the latter city is related by John I. Cosgrove, its president. William H. Mahony treats of the Irish in New Jersey, and Vincent F. O'Reilly of Major-General Richard Montgomery.

The *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society has in the December number a biographical account, by Rev. John E. McGarity, of Samuel Sutherland Cooper (1769-1843), and the concluding installment of Rev. Paul M. Judson's Sketch of the Life of Father Gabriel Richard (1767-1832). The March number contains an account, by Rev. William F. Blakeslee, of the life of Félix Varela (1788-1853), Cuban priest and philosopher, who, proscribed as a deputy of the Spanish Cortes in 1823, came to the United States, where he spent the remaining twenty years of an active life. In the same number Rev. Edward P. Curley gives a history of the Origin and Progress of the Catholic Church in Montana.

A second series of *Quaker Biographies* has been published by the Book Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, in five volumes, reviewing the lives of some thirty-five members of the Society, some of them lives of much more than denominational interest and importance, such as Moses Brown in the first volume and Isaac Sharpless in the last.

*Selected Addresses and Papers of Simon Wolf* is a memorial volume, published at Cincinnati by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, a memorial of a patriotic and public-spirited Hebrew, author of *The American Jew as Soldier and Patriot*. Besides a biography of Mr. Wolf the volume contains an address of his on the Influence of the Jews on the Progress of the World, an elaborate biographical sketch of Mordecai M. Noah, and other papers less historical in character.

#### ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Messrs. Dutton have published *American Marriage Records before 1699*, by W. M. Clemens.

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Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, who not long ago retired from his professorship at Harvard, and has been appointed by President Coolidge a member of the commission to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the birth of Washington, has been made by that commission its official historian, and has in contemplation several publications appropriate to the celebration.

The first reprint, announced by us in a former number, of that rare book *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake* (London, 1765), comes from the Watauga Press, Johnson City, Tenn., in a handsome little volume entitled *Lieut. Henry Timberlake's Memoirs, 1756-1765* (pp. 197), edited by Samuel C. Williams, formerly a justice of the supreme court of Tennessee, who supplies many useful annotations and a brief introduction. The book is important for the knowledge of the Cherokees, and has a curious interest because of Timberlake's voyage with a group of that nation to England, where he died.

The Harvard University Press has published this spring *Letters of a Loyalist Lady*, being the letters written from Boston during the years 1768-1775 by Ann Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, commissioner of customs at Boston.

In the issue of this journal for January, 1926 (p. 401), attention was called to the discovery of a file of the *Gazette Françoise*, a newspaper printed on the press of the French fleet at Newport, R. I., during the Revolution. The Grolier Club (47 East 60th Street, New York) has now brought out a facsimile reprint of the newspaper, with an introduction by Howard M. Chapin, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The University of Chicago Press will bring out in the autumn a book on *George Rogers Clark and the Revolution in the West*, by Professor J. A. James, of Northwestern University.

The Bureau of Naturalization has produced an *Historical Sketch of Naturalization in the United States* (Washington, Government Printing Office).

*The Diary of Elbridge Gerry, jr.*, which Brentano has published, is the record of a journey on horseback from Massachusetts to Washington in 1813, by a route which carried him westward into Ohio and southward into Virginia.

*The History of the Education of Girls in New York and in New England, 1800-1870*, by Martha MacLear, is no. 7 of the *Howard University Studies in History* (Washington, Howard University Press).

Mr. Howard Major's *The Domestic Architecture of the Early American Republic* (Lippincott) treats of what he calls the Greek Revival, the movement to the adoption of a style, chiefly prevalent from 1820 to 1850, derived from classical Greek models and applied extensively to domestic as well as to public buildings.

The Harvard University Press has published *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826*, by Dexter Perkins (*Harvard Historical Studies*, no. 29).

No. 30 of the *Harvard Economic Studies* is *Banking Theories in the United States before 1860*, by Harry E. Miller, assistant professor of economics in Brown University.

*Negro Labor in the United States, 1850-1925*, by Charles H. Wesley, has been added to the series *Current Social Science Studies* (Vanguard Press).

The Navy Department has completed the series of *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* by the issue of a general index (pp. 457) to the thirty volumes of the series.

*The Peacemakers of 1864* (Macmillan), by Edward C. Kirkland, is partly a story of the under-cover movements for peace during the Civil War, but also of the Hampton Roads conference.

The Buffalo *Evening News* has published *Grover Cleveland as Buffalo Knew Him*, by Charles H. Armitage.

Professor Albert T. Volwiler, of Wittenberg College, Springfield, O., has begun work on a biography of President Benjamin Harrison based in large part upon his public and private papers—the latter not hitherto used for historical or biographical purposes.

James E. Amos is the author of a small volume entitled *Theodore Roosevelt: Hero to his Valet* (New York, John Day).

The concluding volume (*War and Peace, 1917-1924*) of the *Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, edited by Ray Stannard Baker and William E. Dodd, has come from the press (Harper). The preceding parts, *College and State* and *The New Democracy*, originally published in two volumes each, have now been consolidated into one volume each, so that the whole work is now published in three volumes.

Houghton Mifflin Company has published *The Services of Supply: a Memoir of the Great War*, by Gen. Johnson Hagood.

An illustrated record of the work of the United States Shipping Board during the war, by its chairman, Edward N. Hurley, is published by Lippincott under the title *The Bridge to France*.

#### LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

##### NEW ENGLAND

*Portland by the Sea: an Historical Treatise*, by Augustus F. Moulton, has been brought out in Augusta, Me., by the Katahdin Publishing Company.

In the December-January serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society Mr. Winslow Warren presents a survey of Massa-

chusetts Oratory, and Professor Hart, under the title "Washington to Order", deals appropriately with some of the less scrupulous of the sensational books about Washington which we seem fated to have in these years approaching 1932.

The Business Historical Society of Boston is now established in the Baker Library of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Its library includes more than 50,000 bound volumes, with many pamphlets in the field to which it is devoted. No. 7 of its *Bulletin* reprints from *An Apology for the Business of Pawn-Broking* (pamphlet, 1744), an estimated budget for a middle-class family of that period.

The April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains a biographical account of Timothy Pickering, by William D. Chapple, a continuation of the list of Prisoners of War from Massachusetts, 1812-1815, and other continued articles.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* has in the April number a body of Abstracts of the Early Probate Records of New Haven, 1647-1687, contributed by Mrs. Winfred S. Alcorn.

#### MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association has in the April number a paper by Professor Evarts B. Greene on New York and the Old Empire, one by William L. Calver on Discoveries made in British Camps of the American Revolution, one by Virginia D. Harrington on New York and the Embargo of 1807, and a continuation of the Garrison Orders and Proceedings of Fort Niagara.

The New York Public Library has issued *The New York Tercentenary: an Exhibition of the History of New Netherland, 1524-1674*, by Victor H. Paltsits.

Mrs. H. Croswell Tuttle has prepared a *History of St. Luke's Church in the City of New York* (New York, the author, 10 Hamilton Terrace).

*An American Schoolmistress: the Life of Eliza B. Masters, 1845-1921*, by Marion B. Shelton, is the biography of the founder of a school at Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.; it has an introduction by Dr. Henry Van Dyke (New York, Putnam).

The *Report* of the Buffalo Historical Society for January, 1927, presents, as is usual in this society's annual reports, a detailed account, day by day, occupying 100 pages, of notable happenings in the city of Buffalo in 1926. The society has had to close its building for the summer, during the construction of two wings, which will add considerably to its space.

In the April number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society Mr. E. Alfred Jones brings to a conclusion his papers on the Loyalists of New Jersey in the Revolution, and Hon. Cornelius Doremus discourses upon the Importance of Historical Societies.

The spring number of the *Bulletin* of the Friends' Historical Association has two papers of much interest: one, by Francis R. Taylor, reviewing with insight and fairness the case of Shotwell *v.* Decow and Hendrickson, a *cause célèbre* of the Orthodox-Hicksite controversy, decided in 1833, and one on the Friends' Almhouse in Philadelphia, by Davis R. Forsythe.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* has in the April number an article by Howard E. Gillingham on Indian and Military Medals from Colonial Times to Date, one by James B. Ranck on the Attitude of James Buchanan towards Slavery, and a continuation of Frances Baxter's account of Rafting on the Alleghany and Ohio, 1844.

C. Hale Sipe of Butler, Penn., is the author and publisher of a volume entitled *The Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania: or a Story of the Part played by the American Indian in the History of Pennsylvania*.

The Allegheny County Committee of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America has brought out a collection of *Letters of General John Forbes relating to the Expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758*, compiled by Irene Stewart. The letters here assembled, which are only those found in accessible printed sources, begin in March, 1758, when Forbes was still in New York, and end at the close of November, a few days after he had taken possession of Fort Duquesne. They are principally to William Pitt, Governor Denny of Pennsylvania, and Governor Sharpe of Maryland, but there are several letters to or from other people, such as Col. Henry Bouquet, Col. James Burd, Major James Grant, and George Washington.

The April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains an article, by Mrs. Elvert M. Davis, on Fort Fayette, one by John Geise on Household Technology of the Western Frontier, a continuation of J. H. Bausman's paper on the Romance of Local History, and also of J. L. Bowman's Historical Notes of Southwestern Pennsylvania.

#### SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an article by James E. Hancock on the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay Section, an account, by J. Appleton Wilson, of the Restoration of the Senate Chamber at Annapolis, and some Colonial Records of Ann Arundel, contributed by Louis D. Scisco.

The Virginia State Library has in press vol. II. of *The Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* and vol. II. of *The Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia*. The Library has nearly completed the work of photostating all the known pre-Revolutionary vestry records in local repositories and is engaged in photostating the records of Virginia Friends now in possession of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting. The Library continues to receive occasionally bodies of non-current records from the counties.

The April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains a penetrating study, by Brig.-Gen. Eben Swift, of the Military Education of Robert E. Lee; a biographical account, by Esther C. M. Steele, of Chapman Johnson (1779-1849), prominent as an attorney in Staunton, later in Richmond, member of the constitutional convention of 1829-1830, etc.; and some documents respecting the colony west of the Blue Ridge proposed by Jacob Stauber in 1731, contributed by Ann V. Strickler Milbourne.

The contents of the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* include the first installment of a paper on the Procedure of the Virginia House of Burgesses, by S. M. Pargellis; the second installment of letters of Edward Coles (letters to Jefferson, Nicholas Biddle, Albert Gallatin, James Gallatin, Joel R. Poinsett, Henry Clay, and others); personal and land-tax lists of King William County; losses of York County citizens in the British invasion, 1781; documents of Sir Francis Wyatt (second installment), etc.

In the April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Mr. C. A. Hoppin returns to the subject of Washington's birthplace, treating with some particularity the origin of Wakefield and the probable type and character of the building. Among the other contents of this number of the *Quarterly* are a paper on the state regiments of the American Revolution, from a manuscript found in the Virginia State Library; some letters to General Weedon (April, 1781); a letter from Richard Henry Lee (Sept. 21, 1781) to Capt. Daniel Morgan, respecting the siege of York Town; some letters of Henry Bedinger (1826) respecting James Rumsey's steamboat experiments; and a list of Capt. David Beattie's company at King's Mountain.

Claude L. Yowell has written *A History of Madison County, Virginia*, which has been published in Strasburg (Shenandoah Publishing House).

In the April number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., has an article on the Preservation of South Carolina History; Mr. A. R. Newsome relates the history of Udney Maria Blakeley (daughter of Capt. Johnston Blakeley, commander of the sloop of war *Wasp*, which defeated the *Reindeer* and the *Avon* in 1814) and of the action of North Carolina in her behalf; Mr. A. Curtis Wilgus contributes Some Notes on Spanish-American Patriot Activity along the Atlantic Seaboard, 1816-1822; and Professor Percy S. Flippin contributes some Herschel V. Johnson Correspondence. The correspondence here printed is of the years 1849-1850 and includes letters to Calhoun (six), R. A. L. Atkinson (two), H. S. Foote, and others.

The April number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains some correspondence (1766-1770) of Charles Garth, agent of the colony of South Carolina in England, concerning the statue of Pitt erected in Charleston. The correspondence is edited by Mr.

Joseph W. Barnwell. There is also, besides continuations, a sketch of Gen. William Henderson (1748-1821), by B. F. Taylor.

In the March number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* Professor E. M. Coulter has an article on Mary Musgrove, "Queen of the Creeks", Miss Meta Barker one entitled Two Georgia Whigs in 1860 (the Rev. Lovick Pierce and his son, Bishop George F. Pierce), and Mrs. Carrie P. Wilson one entitled Candle Lights on Old Liberty County.

The contents of the April number of the Florida Historical Society *Quarterly* include part I. of a paper by Professor J. O. Knauss on St. Joseph, an Episode of the Economic and Political History of Florida (an account of the rise and decline of an "upstart" town); an article by Edgar L. Pennington concerning Rev. James Seymour, missionary in Florida of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and one by Ruthjeanne Bellamy on the Personality of Pedro Menéndez.

The Department of Archives and History of the state of Alabama is making a special effort to collect letters and other material pertaining to the life of Major John Pelham of the Confederate army, one of five Alabamians chosen by a state commission to be represented in the Stone Mountain monumental group. It is understood that Rev. Philip Mercer of St. Cloud, Minn., is engaged in preparing a life of Major Pelham.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for April, 1926, published in March, 1927, devotes some space to the history of Lafayette's visit to New Orleans in 1825, and reprints at full length the report of the joint committee, of the two houses of the legislature, which in 1815 was appointed to investigate the military measures applied by Jackson to that assembly. There is also a paper, by the editor, Mr. Henry P. Dart, on Bienville's claims against the Company of the Indies for back salary, 1737. The records of the Superior Council of Louisiana (1737) and the Spanish judicial records (1773) are continued. The number for July, 1926, prints, both in the original French and in an English translation by Mrs. H. H. Cruzat, some documents respecting the attempted escape of English prisoners from the jail in New Orleans in 1744. These prisoners (John Hayward, or Howard, and his son Josiah) were members of that party whose expedition from Southwest Virginia in 1742 Mr. Fairfax Harrison described in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* of April, 1922. This number of the *Quarterly* includes also some Marriage Contracts of the Spanish Period in Louisiana, translated; Regulations to be Observed by the Syndics and Alcaldes of the Jurisdiction of Baton Rouge, promulgated in 1804 by Governor Vicente Folch; the Inventory of the Estate of Sieur Jean Baptiste Prevost, New Orleans, 1769, translated, and with notes by Mr. H. P. Dart; and an article on Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836, by James E. Winston.



## WESTERN STATES

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its twentieth meeting at New Orleans March 31, April 1-2. Papers were read on topics relating to early Southern history and commerce (Routine on a Louisiana Sugar Plantation under the Slavery Regime, Grain Trade in New Orleans, 1804-1814, etc.), the South during the Civil War (Economic Incidence of the Civil War, etc.), Latin-American history (Ecclesiastical Policy of the Emperor Maximilian, Constitutional Development of Chile, etc.), and the business of teaching history. The address of the president of the association, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, was on the Mississippi Valley in 1816 as seen in an Englishman's Diary.

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains papers by William T. Utter on Judicial Review in Early Ohio, by Professor James C. Malin of the University of Kansas on Roosevelt and the Elections of 1884 and 1888, and by Abraham P. Nasatir of the University of Iowa on Jacques D'Église on the Upper Missouri, 1791-1795.

The general assembly of Indiana, at its recent session, provided for the creation of an Indiana George Rogers Clark Memorial Commission of fifteen members and for a tax levy, estimated to produce in two years about \$400,000, for the purchase of land in Vincennes for a George Rogers Clark park and memorial structure.

*A History of Crawford County*, Indiana, has been recently published by H. H. Pleasant of Central Normal College at Danville, former superintendent of schools in Crawford County.

The contents of the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* include an installment of a history of Methodism in Southeastern Indiana, by Rev. Allen Wiley, originally published in a periodical in 1848; Memoirs of the Bruce Family, written by William Bruce in 1851; and an account, by Wilbur L. Stonex, of the Salem Bank of Goshen, Ind.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1926 contains, besides the official proceedings of the society, the following historical papers: the Shifting Cowtowns of Kansas, by Louis Pelzer; the Relations of the Primitive Cultures of the Mississippi and the Rio Grande, by John B. MacHarg; Mormon Life and Doctrines in Illinois and Utah, 1840-1860, by Willis G. Swartz; Illinois Architecture, by Thomas E. O'Donnell; Sarah Bush Lincoln, the Stepmother of Abraham Lincoln, by Louis A. Warren; A Rare Judicial Service: Charles S. Zane, by John M. Zane; Abraham Lincoln and the Traditions of American Civil Liberty, by Professor Arthur C. Cole; Abraham Lincoln and New Salem, by Rev. William E. Barton; and the Political Career of William R. Morrison, by Franklin D. Scott.

Following are among the articles in the April number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*: the Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History, by Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan; the First Settlement on the Site

of St. Louis, by the same author; Homeseekers in the Wilderness, by Rev. Paul J. Foik; Marquette's Burial Site Located, by Rev. Patrick Lomasney; and a second installment of Dr. Joseph J. Thompson's study, Illinois: the Cradle of Christianity and Civilization in Mid-America. There are also some notes, by Frank Sheridan, on the Influence of the Irish People in the Formation of the United States.

The April number of the Filson Club's *History Quarterly* contains an article on John Findley: the First Pathfinder of Kentucky, by Lucien Beckner; one on the Old Library of Transylvania College, by Mrs. Elizabeth Norton; and one on the Salt-Making Industry of Clay County, Ky., by John F. Smith.

The Kentucky Geological Survey has issued *The Geography of the Kentucky Knobs: a Study of the Influence of Geology and Physiography upon the Industry, Commerce, and Life of the People*, by Wilbur G. Burroughs.

Among the articles in the April number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: a Story of Midland, by Lawrence H. Conrad—the story of a lumbering town that was dying and was restored to vigorous life by the chemical industry; the Personal Experiences of a Mining Engineer, by J. E. Jopling; Michigan Press Influence on Party Formation, by William Stocking; Early Days of the Calhoun County Bar, by William H. Porter; some Reminiscences of Samuel Dickie (1851–1925), by Mrs. Ada Dickie-Hamblen; a Michigan Family of Mapmakers, by William L. Jenks; and Tappan the Man and Teacher, by Charles M. Perry.

The Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library expects to publish this summer vol. I. of the *Burton Historical Records*, being the first volume of the *John Askin Papers, 1747–1794*, papers of John Askin, merchant at Mackinac and Detroit from 1764 until his death in 1815. In the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* of May Dr. M. M. Quaife relates, under the title Two Captives of Old Detroit, the story of James and Mary Moore, brother and sister.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has just published the second volume of its "Domesday Book", prepared by Dr. Joseph Schafer, superintendent of the society, and entitled, *Four Wisconsin Counties, Prairie and Forest*.

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* reprints in the March number (from the *Transactions* of the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society) an address delivered by Abraham Lincoln at the Wisconsin State Fair, Milwaukee, Sept. 30, 1859. This issue contains also an account of the Fairchild Papers, by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg; a sketch, by Mary J. Atwood, of J. Stephens Tripp (1828–1915), a benefactor of the State University; an account, by Katherine Greening, of the Early Life of John F. Appleby, inventor of the harvester knot; the concluding installment of the Autobiography of Robert Fargo; and a discussion by the editor of Church Records in Migration Studies.

The state appropriation for the Minnesota Historical Society has been set for the next two years at \$47,400 per annum. The society has received three important groups of missionary papers—transcripts from the archives of the American Board for Foreign Missions, Boston; transcripts from the ecclesiastical archives at Quebec; Catholic parish registers, St. Paul. The war records division has nearly finished the first volume (of two) of its history of Minnesota in the World War.

Articles in the March number of *Minnesota History* are: Washington and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy, by President Henry M. Wriston, and New Light on Old St. Peter's and Early St. Paul, by M. M. Hoffman. In the section devoted to Minnesota as Seen by Travellers is the journal of a dragoon on the march to Pembina in 1849, reprinted from the *Minnesota Pioneer* of Mar. 6, 1850, and edited by Willoughby M. Babcock. The issue for June has a paper by I. H. Hart on the Old Savanna Portage, between East Savanna and West Savanna rivers, near where the waters of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence make their closest approach; another, on the English Colony at Fairmont in the Seventies, by A. R. Moro of London, a member of the colony 1876-1883; and an account, from diaries of Charles Francis Adams, sr., and Charles Francis Adams, jr., of their travels in Minnesota when campaigning with Seward in 1860.

The State Historical Society of Iowa will shortly bring out, in the *Iowa Biographical Series*, a biography of Leonard F. Parker, long a professor of history in the State University of Iowa and also in Grinnell College. Bruce E. Mahan, associate editor of the society, has begun the compilation of a history of the Iowa State Council of National Defense, which will be included among the *Iowa Chronicles of the World War*. The society has recently acquired a copy of the Civil War diary of John Gay, a soldier in the 25th Iowa Infantry.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains an account of the twentieth session of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa, held in Des Moines in February, including the address of President A. B. Funk and various addresses on the lives and characters of Warren Garst, Jonathan P. Dolliver, Albert B. Cummins, and Lafayette Young. There is also a long letter from Gen. Joseph Street, sub-Indian agent, to Rev. David Lowry, missionary to the Winnebagoes, written from Rock Island in 1836.

The April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a history of Iowa Boundaries, by Erik M. Eriksson; an account, by Hubert H. Hoeltje, of Ralph Waldo Emerson's lecture tours in Iowa; and an article by William J. Berry on the Influence of Natural Environment in North-Central Iowa.

The March number of the *Palimpsest* has a translation, by Miss Elizabeth Conrad, of Gorardin's account (in *Le Tour du Monde*) of his trip in

1840 to the Bad Lands; in the April number Marie E. Myer describes Rafting on the Mississippi and O. E. Garretson gives an account of the battle of Athens, Mo.; and in the May number Mrs. Laurence C. Jones relates the story of a negro family removed by their owner from Kentucky to Iowa and manumitted.

The *Missouri Historical Review* has in the April number a paper on the Beginnings of Methodism in Missouri, 1790-1824, by Lawrence E. Murphy; a sketch, by Fred Fitzgerald, of Daniel Dunkin, fifth governor of Missouri; an account, by W. D. Vandiver, of the careers of Capt. John H. McNeill, commander of McNeill's Rangers, and his son, Jesse, who succeeded to the command on the death of his father; a paper by Lucinda de L. Templin entitled Two Illustrious Pioneers in the Education of Women in Missouri: Major George C. Sibley and Mary Easton Sibley (some extracts from a diary of Major Sibley are printed in the June number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*); the second installment of Raymond D. Thomas's Study in Missouri Politics, 1840-1870; and the second of W. J. McDonald's articles on the Missouri River and its Victims.

Articles in the April number of the *Southwest Historical Quarterly* are: the Committee of the Texas Declaration of Independence (first installment), by James K. Greer; a Reconnaissance of Texas in 1846, the diary of a journey from Louisiana and return, supposed to be by A. W. Moore; the Journal of Capt. Isaac L. Baker (from Nashville to Mobile), July and August, 1814, contributed by C. F. Arrowood; and a second installment of Descriptions of the Tejas or Asinai Indians, translated and edited by Mrs. Hatcher.

The January-March issue of the *Nebraska History Magazine* is designated "Missouri River Number", the contents being for the most part extracts from printed books, newspapers, etc., pertaining to the discovery, region and resources, navigation, and future of the river.

Among the contents of the March number of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* are an account, by Muriel H. Wright, of the settlement known as Old Boggy Depot; an address delivered by Hon. Thomas H. Doyle before the House Committee on Territories in 1904 on the question of statehood for Oklahoma; and an article by Grant Foreman on Sources of Oklahoma History. The June number contains further proceedings of the Committee on Territories, with arguments of Mr. Doyle; an article on the Early Telephone History of Oklahoma, by John M. Noble; Reminiscences of Life among the Indians, by Rev. J. J. Methvin; Reminiscences of the Cherokee People, by Wiley Britton; and some extracts from the diary of Maj. George C. Sibley, of whom there is a sketch in the April number of the *Missouri Historical Review*.

*The Saukie Indians and their Great Chiefs Black Hawk and Keokuk*, by Amer M. Stocking, has been brought out in Rock Island by the Vaile Company.

The March number of the *Colorado Magazine* includes an article by LeRoy R. Hafen on the Fort Pueblo Massacre and the Punitive Expedition against the Utes, and a sketch of Cabin Life in Colorado, by Mrs. H. A. W. Tabor, from a manuscript obtained by H. H. Bancroft in 1884. The May number has an article by Mr. Hafen on Mexican Land Grants in Colorado, one by D. W. Working on Some Forgotten Pioneer Newspapers, and one by Roger W. Toll, superintendent of the Rocky Mountain National Park, on Mining and Mountain Climbing in Colorado, 1860-1862.

The legislature of New Mexico, by a recent enactment, constituted the Historical Society of New Mexico the official custodian of any public archives that might be transferred to it and authorized the transfer to it of any non-current records, documents, newspaper files, etc., both state and local.

The April number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains an article on Spanish Arms and Armor, by the late F. S. Curtis, jr.; the first installment of a paper on Military Escorts on the Santa Fé Trail, by Fred S. Perrine; the concluding installment of G. P. Hammond's Founding of New Mexico; and the biennial report of the president of the Historical Society of New Mexico, Mr. P. A. F. Walter, to the governor.

The following articles appear in the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly*: Russian Plans for American Dominion, by Clarence L. Andrews; Oregon Immigrants of 1844, by Fred Lockley; Looking at Oregon Territory through Advertisements, by Edith Dobie; and White Salmon and the Old Blockhouse, by D. A. Brown. This number contains also Mrs. Lucy A. Ide's diary of a journey from Mondovi, Wis., to Dayton, Washington Territory, in 1878, edited by J. Orin Oliphant, and some letters of Washington Irving to his brothers Pierre and Peter concerning his preparation of *Astoria*. The letters are contributed, with an introduction, by J. Neilson Barry.

The *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (the name now used instead of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*) has in the March number an address, Nova Albion and New England, delivered by Professor Samuel E. Morison at the dedication of the Astoria Column in July, 1926; an article on England and the Oregon Treaty of 1846, by Henry Commager; one on the Currency Question in Oregon during the Civil War Period, by Joseph Ellison; and one on the Indians of Oregon: Geographic Distribution of Linguistic Families, by J. Neilson Barry.

*The Oregon Constitution and Proceedings and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1857* (pp. 543), edited by Charles H. Carey, is printed under the direction of the Oregon Historical Society. In an introduction of 56 pages Mr. Carey traces the agitation for statehood, and relates succinctly the history of the convention and of the subsequent steps leading to the admission of Oregon as a state. Besides the proceedings of the convention and the text of the constitution, the volume

contains the texts of the several amendments from 1902 to 1926, a list of amendments voted upon during the same period, a chapter on the sources of the Oregon constitution, and commemorative addresses delivered in former times by Hon. John R. McBride and Hon. George H. Williams.

The firm of McBride has brought out (in the *Argonaut Series*) *The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 1845-1860*, an account of pioneering in Oregon. Arthur D. H. Smith writes an introduction to the volume. Its unhistorical character is shown by a reviewer in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for May.

The University of California Press has published Francisco Palou's *Historical Memoirs of New California*, in four volumes.

Mr. George Wharton James has brought out a revised edition of his work *In and Out of the Old Missions of California* (Little, Brown).

The *Annual Publications*, vol. XIII., part II. (1925), of the Historical Society of Southern California contains a paper by Grace E. Tower on Sentiment in California for American Government and Admission into the Union and one by George W. Beattie on the Development of Travel between Southern Arizona and Los Angeles as it related to the San Bernardino Valley.

*California and the Nation, 1850-1860: a Study of the Relations of a Frontier Community with the Federal Government*, by Joseph Ellison, is vol. XVI. of the University of California *Publications in History*.

#### CANADA

The *Canadian Historical Review* for March opens with a brief paper by Professor Duncan McArthur of Queens University on Some Problems of Canadian Historical Scholarship. This is followed by one on Canada and Vermont: a Study in Historical Geography, by Professor W. A. Mackintosh of the same university, one on American Economic Penetration of Canada by H. L. Keenleyside of the University of British Columbia, and a presentation, by Professor Paul Knaplund of Wisconsin, of the correspondence of 1841 between Peel, Charles Buller, and Stanley relating to the choice of Sir Charles Bagot as governor-general of Canada, and the offer of the post of secretary to Henry Lytton Bulwer, afterward envoy to the United States.

In *Canada, the Great River, the Lands, and the Men* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1927) Marion I. Newbiggin surveys with much detail the French period of Canadian history, and briefly summarizes the history from that date to the present. All of the foci of national life lie, according to the author, in the strip of level, fertile land which lies between the shores of the nearer of the Great Lakes and Quebec.

The first of the Recollet apostles in Canada is commemorated by Father Hugolin in *Le Père Joseph Denis, 1657-1736* (Quebec, 2 vols., pp. 106, 210).

The second report of the Commission des Monuments Historiques of the Province of Quebec is devoted to *Les Vieilles Églises de la Province de Québec, 1647-1800* (Quebec, L. A. Proulx, pp. viii, 324, with 178 photographs) and gives the history of 38 old churches.

A series of "Imperial Studies" from the University of London, prepared under the general editorship of Professor A. P. Newton, is inaugurated by the issue of *Public Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836* (Longmans), by Miss Aileen Dunham, instructor in history in the College of Wooster, Ohio.

#### AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

A *Syllabus of Hispanic-American History*, by A. Curtis Wilgus, has been published by the McKinley Publishing Company, Philadelphia, in time to be used in the work of the summer sessions in the various colleges and universities.

The Duke University Press has brought out *Antonio de Mendoza, First Viceroy of New Spain*, by Arthur S. Aiton.

No. 22 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*, an exceptionally large and important number (pp. xxix, 225) is entirely devoted to the treaty of peace of December 28, 1836, by which Spain finally recognized the independence of Mexico. The correspondence of the Mexican plenipotentiary, Don Miguel Santa Maria, with his government is presented, detailing the course of the negotiation, with accompanying documents.

The Hispanic Society of America has devoted one of its little volumes to *The Darien Venture*, by Mr. Frank Cundall, secretary and librarian of the Institute of Jamaica, whose narrative rests on a very insufficient body of sources, but embraces several interesting letters from the Archive of the Indies. A more substantial publication of the same society is *The Intellectual Background of the Revolution in South America, 1810-1824*, by Professor Bernard Moses, who treats with learning and insight the mental attitude of the colonists in Spanish South America, the influx of foreign ideas, and the working out of the intellectual forces of the time toward principles and institutions of liberty.

Following the example of several of the Spanish-American republics, the government of Panama in September, 1923, commissioned Don Juan Antonio Susto to catalogue and copy documents in the Archive of the Indies relating to the history of the region now occupied by that republic. After three years of diligent labor at Seville, the agent presents his report, *Panamá en el Archivo General de Indias* (Panama, Imprenta Nacional, 1927, pp. 48), reporting hundreds of *legajos* catalogued and thousands of documents copied. He also presents, reprinted from the *Revista de Archivos*, a catalogue of the 382 *legajos* in section V., "Audiencias", of that archive, which relate to Panama and the isthmus, *Catálogo de la Audiencia de Panamá* (Madrid, *Revista de Archivos*, pp. 53).



M. J. Gazin, archivist of the colony of Martinique, has prepared, and the Conseil Général of the island has caused to be printed, an elaborate general bibliography of the island, which students of West Indian history will find useful, *Éléments de Bibliographie Générale Methodique et Historique de la Martinique* (Fort de France, imp. Antillaise, pp. 348).

The history of an interesting commercial enterprise in the old Spanish colonial empire is related in Ramón de Basterra, *Los Navíos de la Ilustración, Real Compañía Guipuzcoana de Carácas y su Influencia en los Destinos de América* (Carácas, 1925, pp. 307).

The *Hispanic American Historical Review* for May, besides two articles noted on a later page, contains an interesting account of the archives of Francisco de Miranda, lately acquired from the present Lord Bathurst by the government of Venezuela.

The Duke University Press has published *Chile and its Relations with the United States*, by Henry C. Evans, jr.

A comprehensive history of the Brazilian Empire, to embrace five or six volumes, is being prepared by Tobias Monteiro under the title *Historia do Imperio*. Vol. I. has appeared, *A Elaboração da Independência* (Rio de Janeiro, Briguier, 1927, pp. viii, 870).

*Los Primeros Alemanes en el Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1926, pp. 233), by Dr. Robert Lehmann-Nitsche of La Plata, is chiefly devoted to the troubled career of Hans Brunberger of Mainz.

The Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, of Buenos Aires, expects before long to publish vol. XIX. of its *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*, containing the annual letters for 1609-1614 of the Jesuit province of Paraguay, Chile, and Tucuman, with an introduction by Father Carlos Leonhardt, S.J.

The Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana, of Buenos Aires, has published a facsimile reprint of the *Actas Secretas del Congreso General Constituyente de las Provincias Unidas del Río de la Plata, 1816-1819* (pp. xiv, 306).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: T. T. Waterman, *The Architecture of the American Indians* (*American Anthropologist*, April-June); Lieut.-Comm. R. T. Gould, R. N., *The Landfall of Columbus: an Old Problem Re-stated* (*Geographic Journal*, May); Frederick Houghton, *The Migrations of the Seneca Nation* (*American Anthropologist*, January-March); J. Paine, *James Wolfe* (*Army Quarterly*, April); John Adams as he Lived: *Unpublished Letters to Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, Professor of Physic at Harvard College*, I, II. (*Atlantic Monthly*, May, June); R. S. Harvey, *Some Legal and Historical Phases of the American Revolution* (*Georgetown Law Journal*, March); W. S. Middleton, *John Morgan, Father of Medical Education in North America* (*Annals of Medical History*, March); K. S. Latourette, *Voyages of American Ships to China*,

1784-1844 (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, April); Marguerite M. McKee, *Service of Supply in the War of 1812*, II. (Quartermaster Review, March-April); Capt. W. F. Ritter, Q. M. C., *Rail Transportation: an Historical Military Study* (*ibid.*); J. D. Hill, *Some Economic Aspects of Slavery, 1850-1860* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Comm. R. C. Parker, U. S. N., *A Personal Narrative of the Koszta Affair* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, March); R. W. Neeser, *Historic Ships of the Navy: [Hartford]* (*ibid.*, May); Rear-Adm. J. C. Watson, U. S. N., *Farragut and Mobile Bay: Personal Reminiscences* (*ibid.*); Brig.-Gen. E. J. McClelland, *With the Indian and the Buffalo in Montana*, concl. (Cavalry Journal, April); George Robitaille, *Mgr. Laval et ses Historiens*, II. (Canada Français, April); Douglas Hemmeon, *The Canadian Exiles of 1838* (Dalhousie Review, April); W. P. M. Kennedy, *The Political Development of Canada, 1867-1927* (Edinburgh Review, April); *id.*, *Sixty Years of Canadian Progress, 1867-1927* (Quarterly Review, April); S. G. Morley, *New Light on the Discovery of Yucatan and the Foundation of the New Maya Empire* (American Journal of Archaeology, January); C. H. Haring, *The Genesis of Royal Government in the Spanish Indies* (Hispanic American Historical Review, May); J. Torre Revello, *Escritos hallados en Poder del Espía Inglés Roberto Hodgson, 1783* (Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, no. 29); L. F. Hill, *Confederate Exiles to Brazil* (Hispanic American Historical Review, May); G. Friederici, *Die Städtegründung im Kolonialen Spanisch-Amerika* (Iberica, IV. 4).

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